DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 227 373 CG 016 501

AUTHOR	Harford, Thomas C., Ed.; Gaines, Lawrence S., Ed.
TITLE	Social Drinking Contexts. Proceedings of a Workshop (Washington, D.C., September 17-19, 1979). Research Monograph No. 7.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (DHHS), Rockville, Md.
REPORT NO	DHHS-ADM-81-1097
PUB DATE	81
NOTE	253p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Governement Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402 (write for price).
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adults; *Alcoholism; Behavior Patterns; Cognitive Processes; College Students; *Drinking; Females; Group Dynamics; Prevention; Research Problems; Reservation American Indians; *Social Behavior; *Social Environment; Violence; Workshops
IDENTIFIERS	Drunk Driving; New Zealand; Taverns

ABSTRACT

This monograph presents the proceedings of a workshop on the contexts of social drinking, i.e., the situational factors associated with drinking which might increase or inhibit heavier consumption. A brief foreword, participant list, and editors' introduction are presented followed by the 13 workshop presentations: Public Drinking Contexts: Bars and Taverns, Walter B. Clark; Psychosocial Correlates of Tavern Use: A National Probability Sample Study, Joseph C. Fisher; Public Drinking Practices of College Youths: Implications for Prevention Programs, David P. Kraft; Afternoon Dances: Drinking Contexts for Women, Elina Haavio-Mannia; The Social Context of Drinking and Violence in New Zealand's Multi-Ethnic Pub Settings, Theodore D. Graves et al.; Drinking Behavior in Small Groups: The Relationship Between Group Size and Consumption Level, Ole-Jorgen Skog; Cognition and Environment: Implications for a Self-Awareness Theory of Drinking, Lawrence S. Gaines; Managing Competence: An Ethnographic Study of Drinking-Driving and the Context of Bars, Joseph R. Gusfield; The Context of Native American Drinking: What We Know So Far, Joy Leland; There's a Place for Everything and Everything in Its Place: Environmental Influences on Urban Indian Drinking Patterns, Joan Weibel; Some Problematic Aspects of Research on Drinking Contexts, Richard Jessor; and A Note on Observational Studies of Drinking and Community Responses, Robin Room. (MCF)

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ED227373

Research Monograph No. 7

SOCIAL DRINKING CONTEXTS

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Proceedings of a Workshop
September 17-19, 1979
Washington, D.C.

Sponsored by:
Laboratory of Epidemiology and Population Studies
Division of Intramural Research
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CG 016501

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This publication is the product of a workshop on the contexts of social drinking held in Washington, D.C., September 17-19, 1979. The workshop was conducted by Dr. Lee Richman of Ebon Research Systems under contract number ADM 281-79-0010 awarded by the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. The presentations herein are those of the listed authors and may not necessarily reflect the opinions, official policy, or position of the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism or the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 81-600132

DHHS Publication No. (ADM) 81-1097
Printed 1981

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

Foreword

Research has strengthened and clarified the commonsense notion that the social contexts of drinking are related to levels of alcohol consumption and to the incidence of problem drinking.

To promote further research in this subject, the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism conducted a 3-day workshop on Social Drinking Contexts, September 17-19, 1979, in Washington, D.C. The object was to shed light on the role of situational factors associated with drinking and to identify contexts that increase or inhibit heavier consumption. The workshop afforded researchers in this field an opportunity to discuss current findings and to propose future directions in research.

Such research contributes to the development of effective alcoholism prevention activities, a fundamental aspect of the national effort to counter alcoholism and alcohol abuse.

Publication of the proceedings of that workshop, as NIAAA Research Monograph No. 7, is a step toward translating research findings into action that can help people recognize and avoid dangerous patterns of social drinking.

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Social Drinking Contexts: An Introduction

Thomas C. Harford and Lawrence S. Gaines

Behavioral science has long recognized the importance of context in understanding human behavior. In psychology, the legacy of context can be found in Gestalt psychology, which emphasizes relationships formed by the total pattern of stimulus input. Studies of the recognition of emotion show that the labeling of specific emotions varies as a function of context. In addition, research in human development, ethnology, cognitive psychology, and other areas indicates that elementary bits or units of activity and knowledge are organized into larger relationships which confer meaning on their separate parts. Indeed, the linguistic communication of meaning is to be found as much in the context of the message as in its syntax—whether written or spoken.

It should come as no surprise then, that an understanding of alcohol use is here sought in the context of its consumption. While context, or frame of reference, may hold the key to an understanding of drinking behavior, no single idiom describes context. Rather, the term is a convenient label for a variety of behavioral concomitants and antecedents.

The ubiquity of context is evident in the variety of units of analysis used by multidisciplinary perspectives in alcohol studies. Such terms as per capita consumption, demographic status, cultural norm, drinking groups, the tavern, expectancy, blood alcohol level, etc. occupy different levels in the hierarchy of alcohol disciplines and each of these referents has its own context.

To present more clearly the scope of context in alcohol studies, we must differentiate concepts referring to different phenomena. Level I concepts refer to the individual. Concepts at this level focus on the individual drinkers' psychological and behavioral processes, their perceptions, orientations, and goals. Level II units' major point of reference is society or social systems. These concepts focus on norms, social status, institutions, family structure, and social networks. When phenomena at Level I and Level II are related, Level II phenomena provide contexts for examining individual behavior.

Although social drinking settings represent the contexts of drinking behavior addressed here, the antecedents of drinking settings are found in other Level II phenomena. To understand the emergence of drinking settings, it is critical also to examine Level II events such as the production and distribution of alcoholic beverages by the private sector and the enactment and enforcement of alcohol beverage control policies by government. Although these issues are not addressed in the papers that follow, they do merit elaboration in this introduction.

Through its advertising effort, private enterprise develops a demand for alcoholic beverages; by organizing production, it responds to that demand. In turn, Federal, State, and local government regulates supply by legislating taxation, age requirements for purchase, the number and location of on-premise and off-premise sales outlets, and the hours and days of sale.

A discussion of public drinking contexts must note its ecological sources as well as economic and political ones. The economic impetus of control policies is evident in the interactions between government legislation and tax dollar revenues with the profit margins of private enterprise. Ecological components in the availability of alcohol refer to the natural conditions for production. The production of wine and distilled spirits, for example, depends upon the supply of raw materials. Leading wine-producing countries depend on favorable geographic locations. Agricultural produce is generally abundant in countries that produce distilled spirits. Beer-producing countries, though, are less dependent on the supply of raw materials than they are on the presence of a nonagricultural work force, usually a large proportion of the labor force.

These factors clearly affect the distribution of alcohol sales outlets in a particular society. The interaction between economic, ecological, and legislative efforts culminates in the distribution of on-premise outlets—outlets which define the initial point of study for the papers in this monograph. While on-premise outlets comprise the unit of analysis for the selection of drinking settings in the majority of these studies, others are guided by the demography of specific population groups—college students and Native Americans. In these instances, the population groups comprise the unit of analysis and there is, consequently, a greater latitude in the variety of social drinking contexts reported on. The drinking settings for college students, for example, include both on-premise outlets (bars and taverns) as well as settings in dormitory lounges and other on-campus common areas. The papers on Native American drinking settings include "drinking houses" and "powwows" as well as "downtown drinking" and "urban bars."

The use of demographic characteristics as units of analysis identifies another set of Level II phenomena that relates both to the distribution of sales outlets and the drinking behaviors within these settings. Ethnic culture, for example, is a concept that describes the system of norms and values which individuals are exposed to as members of subpopulations that share a common ancestry in which membership is inherited or ascribed. Per capita consumption of alcohol is distributed unevenly among different countries of the world and among subpopulations of different countries. Variation in drinking patterns and rates of alcoholism among diverse cultural and national groups has provided the primary data for the development of sociocultural theories of drinking. Such demographic factors as race, socioeconomic status, and housing density contribute not only to the distribution of sales outlets (the demand side of the economic equation), but also to variations in the type of setting drinkers seek and the drinking styles different population groups will follow in those contexts.

In sum, the antecedents of social drinking settings are found in the interactions of such Level II phenomena as policies regulating the physical availability of beverage alcohol and the religious, ethnic, and other demographic characteristics of the population.

The first set of papers examines the relationship between various demographic characteristics and drinking behavior in on-premise sales outlets such as bars and taverns. The tavern has long been recognized as performing a legitimate social function, providing a forum for entertainment, recreation, sociability, and self-expression, as well as for alcohol use.

In "Public Drinking Contexts: Bars and Taverns," Walter Clark summarizes studies of bars and taverns and their function for society and their patrons. He presents data from the 1962 San Francisco study and 1969 national survey in which demographic variables of age, sex, and marital status are related to the frequency of tavern patronage. Although these studies do not enable us to assess the tavern's influence on consumption levels, their data do indicate that heavy drinkers frequent taverns more than do other groups.

Joseph Fisher's paper, "Psychosocial Correlates of Tavern Use: A National Probability Sample Study," examines the factors that contribute to the frequency of tavern use. Fisher reports that data on age, sex, and marital status of patrons in the 1978 national survey confirm Clark's findings; he also notes that whites used taverns more frequently than nonwhites. The paper also examines how work and marital satisfaction, work status, drinking behavior, and other social institutions, notably the church, are related to tavern use. Using

multivariate procedures, Fisher significantly distinguishes patrons from nonpatrons and predicts the frequency of tavern use.

In "Public Drinking Practices of College Youths: Implications for Prevention Programs," David Kraft describes drinking contexts of college students, negative consequences related to alcohol use, and campus alcohol education activities. Much of college drinking occurs among groups of friends either at small or medium sized parties or at various on-campus and off-campus pubs, taverns, and restaurants. A majority of the students go to bars at least once a month and 29 percent at least once a week. Among drinkers who go to bars at least once a week, more heavier drinkers than lighter drinkers are present in bars.

Kraft describes prevention efforts through both direct educational approaches to the individual drinker and indirect environmental approaches influencing the way drinking occurs on-campus. Environmental approaches included efforts not only to influence the way drinking occurred at the on-campus pub, but also to modify the rules and regulations governing the conduct of parties by campus groups, especially large parties.

In "Afternoon Dances: Drinking Contexts for Women," Elina Haavio-Mannila examines an emerging drinking context in Finland. Afternoon dances there are a means of enticing women into restaurants and offer new drinking opportunity for Finnish women, who traditionally frequent restaurants less than men do. Haavio-Mannila notes that the liberation of women in education, work occupations, and politics seems to be leading to an abandonment of traditional feminine sex roles in leisure-time activities, at least as indicated by alcohol consumption and restaurant patronage. Weekly restaurant drinking among Finnish women increased between 1969 and 1976, and Haavio-Mannila attributes this, in part, to an increase in the number of restaurants, especially dance restaurants. Based on participant observation studies in Helsinki restaurants, her paper focuses on patrons' motives for attending dances and reports the eating and drinking behavior of patrons in these settings.

"The Social Context of Drinking and Violence in New Zealand's Multi-Ethnic Pub Settings," by Theodore Graves, Nancy Graves, Vineta Semu, and Iulai Ah Sam, is a systematic observational study of consumption patterns among Maoris, Pacific Islanders, and New Zealanders of European cultural heritage. It also presents a critical incidents study of interpersonal conflict. This paper is significant for its systematic observation of barroom behavior, multiethnicity of the patrons, and the relationship between drinking and interpersonal conflicts. The authors show an association between drinking group size, level of consumption, and incident seriousness, and present a causal model of these processes independent of ethnic background.

In "Drinking Behavior in Small Groups: The Relationship Between Group Size and Consumption Level," Ole-Jørgen Skog notes that experiments have suggested group drinkers to be more strongly influenced by high-rate drinking companions than by low-rate companions. Observational studies have likewise suggested that large groups tend to drink more than small groups. Skog develops a numerical model showing that the greater consumption of larger groups can be partly explained by group members' different drinking rates. General drinking level, he concludes, is an increasing function of group size but the relationship is concave and converges rapidly towards a maximum value.

These papers draw heavily, though not exclusively, on Level II phenomena. Fisher's study, however, examines distinctly psychological (Level I) phenomena—subjective assessments of the environment, expressed satisfaction with family, job, and friends, and general outlook; Haavio-Mannila, too, investigated the attitudes and motives of her afternoon dancers. Skog's paper, however, directs attention to the dynamics of social interaction and influences as reflected in the asymmetry of drinking rates among group members; by emphasizing the interaction between these two levels of phenomena, his paper thus provides a transition to those that follow.

The interaction of Levels I and II phenomena are considered in the theoretical paper by Lawrence Gaines and the subsequent research reports by Joseph Gusfield, Joy Leland, and Joan Weibel. In "Cognition and the Environment: Implications for a Self-Awareness Theory of Drinking," Gaines argues that drinking is not a strict deterministic response to situations, and drinking cannot be sufficiently explained by the mechanisms of causality. Gaines proposes a theory of drinking based on the meaning of the situation to the drinker. The self-awareness theory of drinking postulates that drinking is an intentional act whose purpose is to harmonize situationally related subjective states and desired states. An important feature of this theory, then, is its focus on the interaction of the environment and self-perception.

"Managing Competence: An Ethnographic Study of Drinking-Driving and the Context of Bars" explores social control and self-competence as linked to one drinking consequence—driving. Joseph Gusfield here notes that drinking-driving, like other social phenomena, is organized and responsive to socially shared meaning and rules. This ethnographic study of drinking-driving in four San Diego bars observes the rules that may guide patrons and personnel in assessing and fulfilling drinking-driving norms during bar interactions. In discussing the display of competent drinking and the recognition of incompetence, Gusfield explores two models: In one, the competent self demonstrates that he can both drink and drive; in

the other, the competent drinker recognizes that drinking has made him incompetent and requires exculpatory defenses to protect the competent self. Gusfield shows how variations in setting affect drinking-driving as a subject of prescriptive and proscriptive social rules. Each of the four bars (two kinds of neighborhood bars, a youth singles bar, and a transient bar) produces different effects on the drinking-driving situation.

In "The Context of Native American Drinking: What We Know So Far," Joy Leland examines social drinking in a western Indian settlement and its relationship to heavy drinking and associated problems. Data were provided by 33 informants who elicited criteria for sorting adult residents of the settlement into different categories. Informants were asked to sort residents who "handle liquor the same way"; the hierarchical clustering was used to yield a common folk taxonomy. From these procedures five major styles of handling liquor emerged for men and five similar but distinct styles for women. Although informants sorted drinkers rather than drinking situations, the context in which drinking occurred was a prominent feature in their criteria for the various drinking styles. Leland describes each of these drinking styles, paying attention to their associated contexts, and summarizes information about the behavior variations associated with other contexts. She further discusses prospects for future changes in Indians' choice of drinking context and potential effects on their drinking behavior.

Joan Weibel's paper, "There's a Place for Everything and Everything in Its Place: Environmental Influences on Urban Indian Drinking Patterns," complements Leland's paper by analyzing the elements of social context. Weibel identifies six environmental dimensions, examines their associated drinking levels and drinking styles, and applies these dimensions to four urban Indian settings: Fifth Sunday Sing, Saturday night powwows, ruralized weekend powwows, and urban Indian bars. Based upon participant observations in a wide range of drinking and nondrinking settings, this study shows that Indians have no single drinking style but seem to shift their drinking behavior across settings. Weibel explores the hypothesis that specific qualities or dimensions of a setting may either mitigate or increase drinking behavior and that individuals respond to such environmental cues diversely according to their cultural backgrounds and lifestyles.

In describing and interpreting contextual aspects of drinking, these papers introduce several important theoretical advances in our understanding of human alcohol use. Because our objectives are limited, we have not attempted to include a systematic exposition of interactional concepts in alcohol studies; in fact, no one has yet undertaken such a comprehensive analysis. This monograph is an over-

view of selected research and theory. We cannot yet delineate the full scope and ramifications of the drinking situation, the drinker, and their interaction. If the reader may wonder how these research papers and theoretical commentaries apply to the various phenomena and problems suggested by the interaction of Levels I and II events, then the efforts of the workshop participants have not been in vain. The monograph concludes with some commentaries in this vein. Richard Jessor raises some issues on the problems of research on drinking contexts. Lawrence Gaines and Cameron McLaughlin discuss conceptions of drinkers in alcohol studies. Robin Room provides a bibliographic note on observational studies of drinking.

Public Drinking Contexts: Bars and Taverns*

Walter B. Clark

> The saloon is the storm center of crime; the devil's headquarters on earth; the schoolmaster of a broken decalogue; the defiler of youth; the enemy of the home; the foe of peace; the deceiver of nations; the beast of sensuality; the past master of intrigue; the vagabond of poverty; the social vulture; the rendezvous of demagogues; the enlisting office of sin; the serpent of Eden; a ponderous second edition of hell, revised, enlarged, and illuminated (Taken from a pamphlet by the Anti-Saloon League: Popham 1978, p. 288).
>
> The growing band of environmentalists, while they are beginning to achieve so much in so many areas, have a blind spot where the pub is concerned. Its preservation should be among their highest priorities. After home and work-place most people probably spend more time in their local pub than anywhere else, more so even than the supermarket, the cinema or the local beauty spot. Some people may disapprove of this, but it is nevertheless a fact. What happens to a happy spirited pub, however smoke-filled the atmosphere, and even if too much alcohol is occasionally consumed, is just as much an environmental issue as the future of Covent Garden, or what we do about pollution in the River Trent (Hutt 1973, p. 11).

We are concerned with bars and taverns and with the people who patronize them. However, other places account for a larger proportion of drinking than bars and taverns do. The place where most drinkers most often drink is at home. Interestingly, relatively more heavy drinkers than light drinkers report that home is the most frequent place of drinking. As far as drinking "larger than usual amounts" is concerned, it is apparently the party and not the tavern that looms largest. Yet drinking at home and drinking at parties are relatively little studied.

Bars, taverns, and inns have received a great deal of attention over the centuries. The Code of Hammurabi contained four articles devoted to wrongdoing by tavern keepers: One article is concerned with not arresting outlawed patrons, one with a priestess becoming a tavern keeper, one with a tavern keeper giving short measure, and one with regulating the sale of alcoholic beverages on credit. The first

*This article is a condensation of a larger report prepared by the Social Research Group of the School of Public Health, University of California, Berkeley, March 1977, under contract ADM-281-76-0027 from the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism.

two articles carry the death penalty; the third requires the wine seller "be thrown in the water." The last, interestingly, fixes the price of wine sold on credit at a lower level than wine paid for when consumed (Popham 1978, pp. 232-233).

These concerns with the character of tavern keepers and tavern patrons have been echoed in all times since. This is not to say that bars, taverns, and inns are always seen as threats to the social order. Popham details times and places of high as well as low regard for tavern keepers and patrons.

There is a fairly sizable literature on taverns and bars concerned with differences among taverns in terms of their locations, their functions, and the characteristics of their patrons. Mass Observation's *The Pub and The People* (1970) makes use of an extremely broad range of materials to describe in brilliant detail the people and pubs of a British town in the years just before World War II. It is one of the few studies that has tried to account for the number of patrons and their proportion of the population and tried also to analyze the cycle of business through the days of the week.

Several studies have devised typologies to describe differences among bars. Clinard (1962) and Macrory (1952) link taverns to functions and to geography. Gottlieb (1957) was concerned with a distinction between cocktail lounges and neighborhood taverns, a distinction which he linked to the development of a tightly knit social organization in some of the latter while the former were places most patrons passed through. Roebuck and Spray (1967) portray a different sort of establishment that does not exist along class lines, but across them. In their words, "The major function of the cocktail lounge was the facilitation of casual sexual affairs between the high-status married men and young, unattached women" (p. 388).

Cavan's (1966) excellent ethnography of four types of bars—a typology developed to account for the types of activities routinely carried out in them—gives a clear picture of the social rules, types of players, and game fields upon which a very broad range of social activities are played out.

Such studies provide much information needed to make sense of the broader but sketchier data from surveys. More of these detailed studies are needed—especially comparative studies both within areas of the United States and cross-nationally. It would be useful to have studies focused more sharply on the uses of alcohol with at least some quantitative data on amount of drinking, time spent in the bar, etc. A few recent studies have begun this task of describing in detail the type of bar and the drinking practices within it.

First, we must deal with another kind of question, one focused not on the kinds of taverns, but on taverns in general or in the aggregate.

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This focus raises questions of a general nature: What are the relationships among tavern patronage and amount of drinking? What are the relationships among individual or social problems and going to bars and taverns? What suggestions have been made to account for the relationships among tavern patronage, drinking behavior, and alcohol problems? The first two questions can be addressed with data from several surveys; the third requires information recorded by careful observers.

All observers would agree that taverns are not just dispensaries of alcohol; much more than just drinking takes place. But the sale of drinks does support the operation, and patrons do experience varying degrees of intoxication. Still, by modern western standards the following is shocking:

> By about 1739, according to Mailland's survey, the number of public drinking places in London had reached the extraordinary figure of 15,288, or approximately one to every 47 persons. . . . So cheap was gin at this time that many tavern keepers displayed signs offering sufficient of the beverage to make a person "drunk for a penny and dead drunk for twopence." They also commonly advertised free straw on which the patron might sleep until recovered (Popham 1978, pp. 266–267).

This is shocking, and yet there is a good reason for today's taverns to sell as much of their goods as they can. This means, of course, that they want patrons who drink more rather than less, and they prefer more rather than fewer customers. Further, the amount of liquor in a drink varies from bar to bar, and a place that "pours a good drink" is one that pours a strong drink. This reputation is not thought harmful to the goal of having more rather than fewer customers.

Various laws and customs work to put both a floor under and a ceiling on the amount of alcohol sold and consumed. Between these limits there is room for variation, and this variation is also of concern here. What factors encourage and discourage drinking in bars?

What Regulates the Amount of Drinking?

Inside the establishment, observers have noted several mechanisms that regulate the amount of drinking. First, as Room (1972*b*) notes, patrons feel a certain obligation to "pay the rent." Having entered, even to use the restroom or to talk with a friend, there is an obligation to buy a drink. Presumably the longer one stays in an establishment, the greater is the obligation to purchase one or more drinks. Sommer's (1965) study of Edmonton, Canada, beer parlors fixed the usual number of beers at around three per hour. Of course, several things may be involved in addition to a moral obligation: size of stomach, "natural amount in a sip," availability of the bartender

or person who waits on tables, etc., but no doubt the moral obligation plays a part as well.

What determines the total amount drunk? Cutler and Storm's (1975) study of Vancouver, B.C., Canada, beer parlors first confirms the Edmonton observations. They note that amount of time spent in the bar is strongly related to the amount drunk ($r = .81$) and that time is related to the number of people in a group who are drinking together ($r = .34$). The explanation is both commonplace and important; beers are often bought in rounds, and the number of people in a group has much to do with the number of rounds bought.

Observers elsewhere have pointed out that social pressures encourage one to keep up with one's companions. Bruun's (1959) study in Finland noted that there were calls for people to "drink up" but almost none to slow down (see also Room 1975). Is it the case that most people drink either at the "natural pace" that Sommer and Cutler and Storm found or drink slightly slower? This would account for calls to speed up and for the lack of calls to drink more slowly. Or is it the case that to suggest that someone drink more slowly may be offensive? Is it a suggestion that one is behaving gluttonously or is becoming intoxicated? We have only speculation on this. However that may be, the relationship between elapsed time and the number of drinks consumed is impressive. A few observers have suggested that the relationship may be weaker at the beginning and ending of visits to the bar. Room (1972*b*) has suggested that an extra drink is taken just after the first, which would modify the amount drunk upward slightly. Spradley and Mann (1975) and Cavan (1966) are among those who point out that closing time may be another exception. When the deadline for last orders is announced, patrons often hurry to have one last drink.

Another major factor in increasing the amount typically drunk in bars is the practice of buying drinks for others. Not only does this increase the drinks taken by the receiver—and there is an expectation that drinks will be accepted—but there is an obligation to reciprocate the purchase, at least among men. Cavan (1966), Spradley and Mann (1975), and LeMasters (1975) are among those who suggest that buying drinks for others is an important aspect of bar behavior. Whatever the meaning of the offer, and observers suggest that there are many, offering drinks and accepting them may be expected to increase the amounts drunk by both participants.

A few other factors that increase drinking may be mentioned. These also increase the amount of time spent in the bar and thus fit well with the relationship that Cutler and Storm presented. For instance, watching some entertainment such as a sporting event on the bar's TV may get people to stay until the event is ended. Some

establishments, to increase business in slow times, offer "happy hours" in which two drinks are given for the price of one, or lower prices prevail. Occasionally bartenders will set up free drinks for the customers, and these may not be the only drinks that will be given on the house.

Upper Limits to Consumption of Alcohol in Bars

In efforts to put upper limits on the amount of alcohol consumed, policymakers have devised numerous regulations. Restrictions on the kinds of beverages sold, the amount of alcohol contained in the beverages, etc., are only the most obvious. There are regulations on buying drinks for others, on whether one may drink at a bar or must drink at a table, or whether it must be the other way around. There are regulations concerning joining others or moving from one seat to another with a drink in one's hand—the list could be made very long. Whether these regulations have the desired effect is largely unknown, and certainly no general principles have been determined.

Some major factors in setting the upper limits on drinking in bars may be noted. First, intoxication is a major concern, and if the patron is not concerned, then the bartender is expected to be. In many places possession of a license to sell beverages is subject to revocation if intoxicated persons are sold more to drink. Occasionally, because of intoxication or other bad behavior, a drinker must be refused service either for the moment or permanently. No doubt such practices vary greatly with the owner's attitude toward intoxicated persons and with enforcement practices. Skid row bars often contain grossly intoxicated persons; Nob Hill bars seem less often to have them. But then, it is also difficult to tell by observation alone whether a person is intoxicated; a blood alcohol content of .10 or .15 is not always apparent.

Patrons are concerned with intoxication as well. Social Research Group surveys[1] have repeatedly found that "being drunk" is a pejorative term for most people, and the desire not to appear grossly or sloppily drunk sets an upper limit on drinking. Nevertheless a substantial proportion of some groups do admit to enjoying occasional intoxication. Clark and Veevers (1964) found a very substantial 54 percent of single young men reported "that they enjoyed getting drunk once in a while." Much smaller proportions of other age and

[1] See the appendix to this paper for a brief description of the various Social Research Group surveys and for the method used to refer to them in this text.

sex categories did so—much smaller in fact than experience intoxication as judged from the drinking patterns these same repondents report. The proportion of drinkers who do get intoxicated and who do report seeking and enjoying that state varies strongly and predictably with various background characteristics: Sex, age, and marital status are only the most obvious of these predictors. Intoxication is, of course, related to the amount drunk and the elapsed time. There are variations in this: "Hollow legs" and an ability to drink large amounts may be a point of pride for some.

Some bars at least seem to be the territories of certain groups (Cavan 1966). Outsiders are not made to feel especially welcome, and this may set an upper limit for intruders by reducing the length of time they stay in proportion to the coolness of their reception. Then, too, the intoxication that one obtains in the bar must be taken with one to any other place that one may go, and thus outside obligations affect directly the upper limits at many times. The number of customers in the bar varies greatly with time of day and day of week. This, too, speaks of the obligations to other things, which is a limit on time spent in the bar. Finally, there is the element of cost, and this may be an important factor indeed. Alcoholic beverages are expensive anywhere, but purchased one by one in a bar they are more expensive than elsewhere. Social scientists and policymakers have recently come to be interested in this, and some hard data may be generated which will shed light on the relationship of price to consumption generally, and perhaps of price to bar drinking as well (see Bruun et al. 1975). Again, the list of possible factors and mechanisms which hold consumption down could be expanded here as could the list of factors that tend to raise the level of consumption. But many of these matters are speculative and will continue to be until further research is done.

To this point we have been concerned with behavior in the bar itself and have not examined the equally important issue of who goes to bars and who does not. For this task we have survey data both for the United States as a whole and for several smaller populations.

Tavern Patronage: Who Goes to Bars?

The details of tavern patronage are complex in the sense that many factors are involved. First, perhaps, is availability: Bars are more numerous in some places than in others; they are open to some kinds of people and not equally to others. Laws affect these matters, but social customs are more important as is revealed by the number of people who legally could enter bars but do not for reasons that they

may or may not share. The expectations of the social world of which one is a member must often be considered in decisions regarding going or not going to bars, which bars, if any, and how often. Since bars are public places, those going there may be seen by others, and in some cases this would be damaging. These matters have much to do with the distribution of bar patronage, which is discussed below.

Four sources of Social Research Group data will be used here. First is the San Francisco (1962) sample which includes both women and men. The National I (1964) and National II (1967) studies represent the adult population of the 48 contiguous States. National III (1969) is again a sample of the 48 States, but includes only men aged 21 through 59. This last sample contains the best data on some kinds of drinking problems; the others are more useful for population estimates. (See the appendix for additional information about these samples.)

Amount of Drinking in Taverns

Survey data generally do not permit one to say much about the amount of drinking done in bars on particular occasions, although there is no reason why such questions could not be asked in a national survey. We do have some information of this sort from studies of smaller populations: Harford's (1975) analysis of data from Gerstel's et al. (1975) Boston study suggests that the drinker's overall drinking habits and the contextual effects of the bar interact. Comparisons of subgroups defined by sex and frequency of drinking in the past week indicate that persons who drink both in restaurants and bars *and* in private locations tend to drink more heavily in the former than in the latter places. This relationship holds in those data for both sexes and for both lower and higher frequency-of-drinking groups, although with varying degrees. Partanen's (1975) reports on several Finnish studies on contextual effects and drinking did not find that the relationship of public places and larger amount of drinking held for some rural Finnish populations, but did hold for some Helsinki populations. In that brief report, a much greater than usual number of variables was held constant than is possible in most surveys, and we would hope that the study of contextual variables in this detail could be replicated on other populations. (The extraordinary range of cultural differences in the operation and patronage of bars can be glimpsed in a reading of Kim's (1973) description of the Night Clubs of Seoul, Korea.)

The data we do have (limited to a few European and North American studies) make it seem likely that people in our populations do drink somewhat more heavily when drinking in bars than when

drinking at home. But even this is not completely clear since the party is the occasion for drinking more than usual that is most often mentioned by respondents, and drinking at home must include occasions of having a drink with an evening meal as well as more concentrated drinking occasions. Furthermore, we cannot assume that bar drinking will affect drinkers in general, for it will be clear from what follows that tavern patrons are different in some important ways from those who do not patronize taverns with any frequency.

The Social Research Group's San Francisco (1962) study contained some detailed questions on frequency of tavern patronage which are useful for present purposes. We should note again that Room (1972*a*) found that San Franciscans were somewhat less likely than residents of other U.S. cities to do their drinking in commercial places. Nevertheless, these data are probably not greatly different from those of other urban populations.

To ask who are the tavern patrons is quite different from asking about the effects of the tavern upon the drinking of its patrons. First of all, the tavern is not equally open to all people. Some people are restricted by law; others, such as women and older people, may feel that tavern patronage is inappropriate for them (or even for everyone). Further, as Clark (1966) details, single people tend to be tavern patrons with much greater frequency than their married counterparts, even with age and sex held constant. In table 1 (based on SRG San Francisco 1962 data) we see that 58 percent of young unmarried men go to bars at least once a week. No other group approaches this, but note that young single women are the next highest group of tavern patrons. In general, the relationship is very regular: Sex, age, and marital status are strongly and regularly related to tavern patronage, with the young, the unmarried, and especially the males represented heavily among the patrons.

Drinking Patterns of Tavern Patrons

Of greater interest in some ways is the relationship between overall amount of drinking and tavern patronage. Here we are not asking about amount of drinking in taverns, but about the overall drinking patterns of people who are frequent tavern patrons as compared to those who go there less frequently.

The frequency-quantity index is described in the appendix to this paper. Note that the amount of drinking called "heavy" here is not extremely high. However, these are the lower limits of the categories, and extremely heavy drinkers are included within the upper category. Table 2 presents the distribution of tavern patronage within

Table 1. Frequency of Patronage of Taverns, Bars, or Cocktail Lounges, by Marital Status, Sex, and Age (Percent)

Frequency of Tavern going	Single[1]						Married[1]					
	Men			Women			Men			Women		
	20-29	30-49	50 and over	20-29	30-49	50 and over	20-29	30-49	50 and over	20-29	30-49	50 and over
Several times a week	42	17	12	15	6	—	11	8	3	—	—	1
Once a week	16	9	—	15	14	—	13	12	5	5	2	1
2-3 times a week	7	22	4	22	17	5	11	9	3	10	3	2
Once a month	10	2	4	15	14	12	19	9	5	12	8	2
Less than once a month	—	15	—	7	8	2	11	12	12	16	9	1
Less than once a year	7	9	12	4	3	7	4	10	10	13	15	9
Never	19	26	68	22	39	73	32	41	62	43	62	85
Don't know/No answer[2]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(2)	(1)
(N)[2,3]	(31)	(46)	(25)	(27)	(36)	(41)	(54)	(173)	(148)	(67)	(206)	(106)

Data from SRG San Francisco study, 1962.

[1] Only single and married persons are included in this table; all other statuses are excluded.

[2] This category is excluded from the total in calculating the percentages.

[3] The ages of four single women were not ascertained.

Table 2. Frequency of Tavern Patronage by Sex, Age, and Frequency–Quantity Index (Percent)

Part A. Men

Frequency-Quantity Index[1]	Less than 40 Years Old							40 Years or Older						
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Goes to taverns:														
Several times a week	44	22	12	6	—[2]	—	—	33	20	6	7	4	—	—
Once a week	22	4	28	6	—	—	—	33	13	8	9	—	—	1
2-3 times a week	20	26	12	6	8	—	—	—	7	11	3	12	3	1
About once a month	2	22	12	11	28	19	—	4	4	19	9	—	3	3
Less than once a month but at least once a year	4	7	12	11	28	6	—	7	16	15	5	12	11	6
About once a year or less	—	7	7	6	12	19	14	4	14	4	12	18	8	3
Never	8	11	19	56	24	56	86	15	27	38	55	55	75	86
(N)	(50)	(27)	(43)	(18)	(25)	(16)	(21)	(27)	(56)	(53)	(58)	(33)	(36)	(81)

Data from SRG San Francisco study, 1965.

[1] These categories may be described as follows: FQ I, Frequent-Heavy; FQ II, Heavy; FQ III, Frequent-Moderate; FQ IV, Frequent-Light; FQ V, Infrequent-Moderate; FQ VI, Infrequent-Light; FQ VII, Abstainers. See the description of this scale in the appendix.

[2] Too small a number to compute a percentage.

Table 2 (Continued). Frequency of Tavern Patronage by Sex, Age, and Frequency–Quantity Index (Percent)

Part B. Women

Frequency-Quantity Index[1]	Less than 40 Years Old							40 Years or Older						
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	I[2]	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Goes to taverns:														
Several times a week	21	—	8	3	—	—	—	(1)	—	—	2	—	—	—
Once a week	16	18	11	6	4	..	—	—	10	6	2	4	—	—
2–3 times a week	21	9	11	6	13	9	—	—	19	11	6	4	1	—
About once a month	16	32	24	19	17	6	—	(1)	5	6	6	6	5	—
Less than once a month but at least once a year	5	—	16	6	17	9	2	(1)	10	6	6	10	4	—
About once a year or less	—	5	5	19	15	17	14	—	17	25	3	15	9	1
Never	21	36	26	42	34	60	84	(5)	40	47	75	60	81	99
(N)[3]	(19)	(22)	(38)	(36)	(53)	(35)	(50)	(8)	(42)	(36)	(88)	(48)	(93)	(149)

Data from SRG San Francisco study, 1962.

[1] These categories may be described as follows: FQ I, Frequent-Heavy; FQ II, Heavy; FQ III, Frequent-Moderate; FQ IV, Frequent-Light; FQ V, Infrequent-Moderate; FQ VI, Infrequent-Light; FQ VII, Abstainers. See the description of this scale in the appendix.

[2] Too small a number to compute a percentage.

[3] The ages of four women and the frequency of tavern patronage for three women were not ascertained.

categories of age and sex. About two-thirds of heavy-drinking men report going to a bar or tavern at least once a week. As compared to older men, those under 40 years of age include a relatively greater number of men who report going at least several times a week. The same relationships hold for women in each age group, but the proportions in the most frequent categories of tavern patronage are much smaller. From these figures, as from the observational studies, we conclude that heavy drinking is related to frequency of going to taverns. But note also that a surprisingly large proportion of abstainers are also tavern patrons; it is only among women abstainers over age 40 that tavern patronage is almost nonexistent.

We are unable with these data to say anything about the influence of being present in the tavern upon the drinker's behavior at that time—the quantity-frequency index (F-Q I) is a measure of overall drinking only, and, at that, it does not purport to account for all consumption. However, by constructing a rather fanciful distribution of tavern visits per year, we can show that heavy drinkers are more in force in taverns than any other drinking group. To do this, we multiply the estimated frequency of attendance at taverns by the number of drinkers in each F-Q category, using the data in table 2. The result, table 3, is the percent of each F-Q group in taverns during the year.

Table 3 is fanciful, of course, since the variations among bars in terms of amount of drinking must be very large indeed. Still, it must

Table 3. Tavern Patrons in Bars: Frequency of Tavern Patronage Multiplied by Number of Drinkers in Each F.Q. Group (Percent)[1]

Frequency-Quantity of Drinking		Men	Women	
Heavy	I	31 percent[2]	6 percent[1]	
	II	18	5	
Moderate	III	13	6	
	IV	7	5	
Light	V	3	4	
	VI	.5	1	
Abstainers	VII	<.5	<.5	
Total		73 percent	27 percent	100 percent

Data from SRG San Francisco study, 1962.

[1] The table may be read: Given the frequency of tavern patronage among males in Frequency-Quantity Group I, and given the numbers of such males in the population, about 31 percent of tavern patrons on an "average occasion" will be heavy drinking (F.Q. I) males. About 6 percent will be F.Q. I females, etc.

[2] Each figure in the table is based on the frequency of bar-going multiplied by the number of drinkers in each category.

be the case that whatever social pressures may exist to raise the level of consumption on visits to taverns are not strongly countered by the presence of many light drinkers. If the table represents the reality, then patrons present are nearly three-quarters male and about 31 percent are in the highest F-Q category. The proportion of F-Q I in the population of drinkers is just 8 percent, of which 74 percent are men. Thus it may fairly be said that tavern patrons, by and large, are relatively heavy drinking people, even though many people who patronize taverns are not heavy drinkers, and there is much more to tavern patronage than just drinking. (It may be well to recall here that even among heavy drinkers, the tavern or bar is *not* the most frequent place of drinking, nor of course is it the most frequent place of drinking for those whose overall quantity and frequency of drinking is less than heavy.)

The SRG National III (1969) study gathered quite complete data on drinking patterns, on drinking problems, and on frequency of going to bars and cocktail lounges. As noted above, the sample is representative of males aged 21 through 59 years of age living in the 48 contiguous States. By design, city populations are weighted somewhat more heavily than rural areas, although the effect of this is quite small. The purpose of the study was to gather information on problems associated with alcohol use, and this population contains a relatively high proportion of such problem drinkers.

We have noted that in the San Francisco study there is a substantial association between quantity and frequency of alcohol use and frequency of tavern patronage: In table 4 we see that the relationship is strong and regular for the United States population of males aged 21 through 59 as well. The measure of amount of drinking used here is described in the appendix. The measure takes into account the total number of drinks taken per month and the maximum number of drinks taken on an occasion. Thus the index discriminates between those who drink at least enough to experience intoxication and those who never have that much. Similarly—regardless of the maximum—we can distinguish between those whose total intake is typically low, medium, or high. Finally, the index also separates out those who do not drink as often as once a year, and, separately, those infrequent drinkers who do drink, but less than once a month.

A second index in table 4 is the respondent's estimate of the frequency with which he or she "gets high or tight"—these terms are defined by the respondent. This index is also concerned with current behavior only.

The "current problems due to drinking" typology, also shown in table 4, was constructed for analysis of the SRG National III (1969) data. The index is not a measure of alcoholism and should not be

Table 4 Frequency of Going to Bars by Drinking Index, by Frequency of High or Tight, and by Current Drinking Problems Typology (Percent)[1]

Frequency of Tavern Patronage	"On the average, how often would you say you go to a bar or cocktail lounge—including bars in restaurants—once a week or more, at least once a month but less than once a week, less than once a month, or almost never?"				
	Once a Week or More	Once a Month, Less than Once a Week	Less than Once a Month	Almost Never	(*N*)
Drinking index:					
Abstainers	1	3	9	86	175
Infrequent drinkers	5	9	24	62	82
Low volume, low maximum	14	19	23	44	109
Low volume, high maximum	8	32	37	23	111
Medium volume, low maximum	26	26	20	28	54
Medium volume, high maximum	38	30	22	10	116
High volume, low maximum	33	23	15	30	40
High volume, high maximum	48	25	16	11	291
How often high or tight?					
Never or not in last three years	11	11	20	58	453
Less than once a year	22	24	25	28	131
Less than once a month, but at least once a year	32	36	19	13	233
About once a month	52	29	12	7	75
Two or three times a month	48	24	14	14	42
Once or twice a week or more often	61	9	20	9	44
Current problems typology:					
Not a drinker within the past three years	1	3	9	88	153
All other drinkers	14	24	27	35	335
Some (lesser) indication of drinking problems	28	24	19	29	179
Very heavy drinking or binge drinking	47	27	15	11	123
Extrinsic problems	45	22	18	15	188

Data from SRC National III study, 1969.
[1] Only men, aged 21 to 59 years, are in this sample.

interpreted as such. Rather, it describes several elements of problems or potential problems involving drinking that have taken place in the 3 years prior to the interview.

The alcohol problems index presented here includes a fairly broad range of actual and potential problems, but the overlap with clinical populations can be expected to be small. This is not to say that the problems are not real or severe. The index is built from questions that take into account the kinds of alcohol problems, the severity of many of these, and the recency.

The extrinsic problems category of the "current problems typology" includes problems with spouse, friends, neighbors, relatives, problems on the job, problems with the law (including arrests for drunk driving, etc.), financial problems, problems with physical health, or accidents (including traffic accidents). All problems must be due to drinking in the respondent's judgment. The scoring scheme requires fairly severe problems in more than one area for an individual to be included in this category, and individuals included here may also be heavy or binge drinkers as well.[2]

The very heavy or binge drinking category includes those *not* in the extrinsic problems category, but who report a level of drinking that implies intoxication at least as often as once a week or gross intoxication somewhat less often but at least once a month. Binge drinking here means staying drunk for more than one day at a time; included here are those who reported three or more binges in the last 3 years or reported staying drunk for several days in that time period.

The lesser drinking problems category includes all those not in one of the categories above, but who report any lesser level of any of the problems above or who report indications of drinking to cope with stress, or one or more of the classical symptoms of alcohol problems such as drinking in the morning, etc., or indications of loss of control over amounts drunk on an occasion, or who report becoming belligerent when drinking. This category, despite the range of problems included, does not indicate severe alcohol problems—those are in the categories above—but these people do report some difficulties which they attribute to drinking.

The final categories are these: all those who are now drinkers or who were drinkers at any time within the past 3 years, and, finally, those who have not been drinkers at any time within the past 3 years.

Table 4 shows the relationships of these three indexes to tavern patronage. First in these national data we find again the strong relationship between tavern patronage and overall amount of drinking. Nearly half of the "high-volume/high-maximum" drinkers go to taverns at least once a week; nearly three-quarters go at least once a month. The contrast with lighter drinkers and less frequent drinkers

[2]Details on scale construction are available from the Social Research Group on request. For a detailed discussion of the interrelations among drinking problems and of drinking problems with other variables, see Cahalan and Room (1974, chaps. 2 and 3).

in this respect is very striking. Note also that there is a slight tendency for "high maximum" drinkers—whatever their overall volume—to be tavern patrons.

The second section of table 4 permits us to move closer to questions of intoxication as related to tavern patronage. The marginals (not shown) reveal that nearly half of the United States male population (46 percent) almost never go to taverns or bars. Another 19 percent go to taverns only occasionally—less than once a month, but at least once a year. Thus, the relationship between drinking, at least to the point of mild intoxication, and tavern patronage, is impressive: Fully 61 percent of those who get high or tight as often as once or twice a week also report tavern patronage about as often, and about half of those who get high or tight two or three times a month go to taverns once a week or more. However, we should note again that tavern patronage is not just a matter of heavy drinking since 11 percent of those who never get high and 22 percent of those who get high less often than once a year also report going to taverns at least once a week. Thus, both overall drinking frequency and frequency of getting high are strongly related to tavern patronage, but drinking is not a complete explanation of tavern patronage.

The third section of table 4 shows the relationship between tavern patronage and the index of problems caused by drinking. Percentages are computed within categories of the problem index. Of those reporting one of the "extrinsic problems" caused by drinking, 45 percent go to a tavern once a week or more. The same is true of those who report either very heavy intake or binge drinking, or both. A much smaller proportion of the other groups are frequent tavern patrons.

It is obvious that these variables of amount of drinking, frequency of intoxication, and various drinking problems are not independent, but the degree of relationship is of some interest. Table 5 contains the

Table 5. Correlations Among Variables Related to Tavern Patronage Among Drinkers Only[1]

Indexes	1	2	3	4	5	6
Amount of drinking	—	.48	.26	.35	−.13	.47
Frequency of intoxication		—	.37	.26	−.34	.37
Extrinsic problems			—	−.23	−.07	.19
Binge drinking or intoxication				—	−.10	.20
Age (10-year)					—	−.11
Frequency of tavern patronage						—

Data from SRG National III study, 1969.
[1] Only men, aged 21 to 59 years, are in this sample.

product-moment correlations among the scales. Abstainers are excluded, and, of course, the sample is limited to men aged 21 through 59 years.

For present purposes, the problems scale has been made into a dichotomy. One part contains all those who reported "extrinsic problems" due to drinking,[3] the other is made up of those not in that category but who reported frequent intoxication or binge drinking. The other indexes are in the full form described above.

The matrix (table 5) requires little comment. The only surprise, perhaps, is the moderate degree of relationship among the two problem indexes and the other measures. Note also that age (in 10-year categories) is negatively related to all variables, but not strongly, with the exception of the measure of frequency of intoxication which at $r = -.34$ is of moderate strength.

A major concern here is the relation of tavern patronage to the other scales. The relationship of tavern patronage is much stronger with respect to the measure of intake ($r = .47$) and to frequency of intoxication ($r = .37$) than to either of the two drinking problem indexes.

Prediction of Tavern Patronage

However, the relationship among these indexes of intake and of problems leads to a question of prediction, which must take into account the interactions among the predictor variables. Taking frequency of tavern patronage as the index to be predicted, and using the Automatic Interaction Detection program to show the amount of explanation possible with the interaction among variables taken into account, we find the results shown in figure 1.

Frequency of tavern patronage is scored 1 for "never" through 4 for "once a week or more." Predictors are dichotomized versions of the indexes described above:

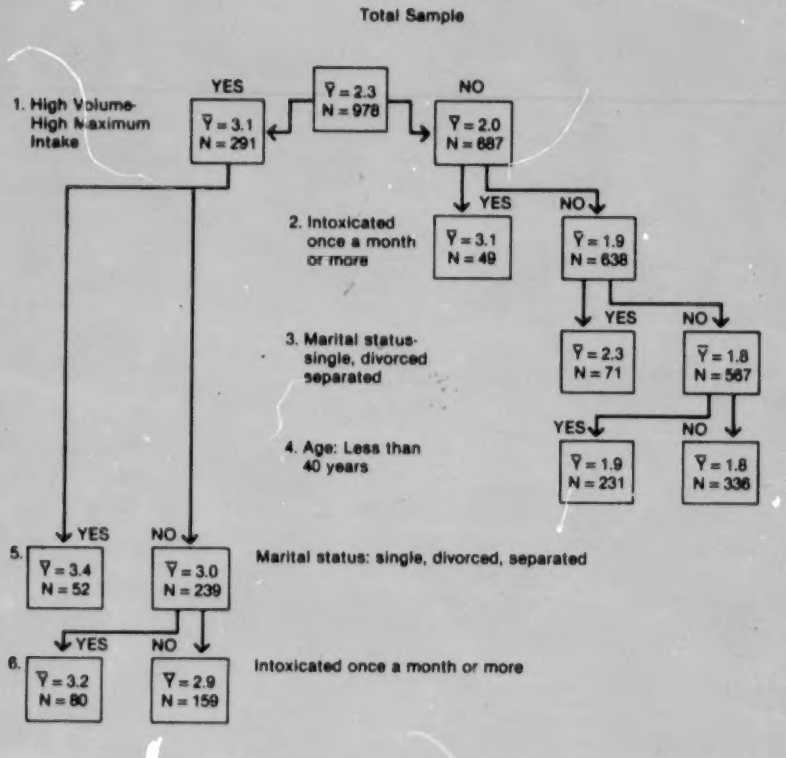
- Intake is divided into high-volume/high-maximum vs. all others
- Frequency of intoxication: once a month or more vs. all others
- Marital status: single, divorced, or separated vs. married or widowed
- Age: less than 40 years vs. 40 years or over

The predictors are related as has been shown, and this fact shows up in the rather modest amounts of variance added in the later steps

[3]This category includes all those who reported drinking problems with spouse, friends, relatives, on the job, with police, financial problems, health problems or accidents—all caused by drinking and all of a fairly severe nature.

Figure 1. Automatic Interaction Analysis Predicting Frequency of Tavern Patronage in U.S. Males Aged 21 Through 59 Years*

Cumulative variance explained (BSS/TSS) is 24 percent.



Dependent score values
Frequence of tavern patronage score:
4 At least once a week
3 At least once a month
2 Less than once a month
1 Never

Cumulative variance explained:
Step 1. 17.2%
2. 21.6%
3. 22.7%
4. 23.0%
5. 23.5%
6. 24.7%

*Data from SRC National (1967) Study—Males 21-59 years only.

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of the AID analysis.[4] The first variable in the AID "tree" is the measure of "high-volume/high-maximum" intake which accounts for 17 percent of the variance. Following that "branch," we find that "marital status" makes a difference: Single people have a mean tavern-going score of 3.1 as compared to 3.0 for married and widowed persons. That latter group is again divided according to frequency of intoxication, and frequent intoxication is related to frequency of tavern patronage.

The "non-high-volume/high-maximum" group is also divided into several subgroups. However, only frequency of intoxication produces a group whose mean score exceeds 3.0 on the dependent measure of tavern-going frequency.

In reading the AID diagram, the reader will want to keep in mind that the mean score reflects a very great range of tavern patronage. A score of 2 means tavern patronage of less than once a month; a score of 4 means once a week or more often, which means at least a fivefold difference. Therefore the differences between the final groups are very sizable. Altogether the predictor variables account for about 25 percent of the variance in frequency of going to taverns.

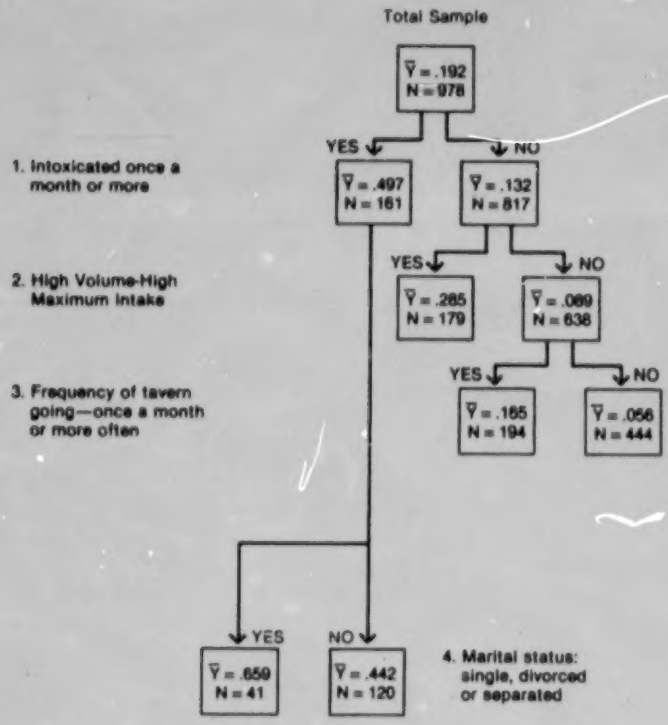
A final question may be asked about the relationship of tavern patronage to drinking problems. Again, an AID analysis will be useful in showing the relative contribution of amount of drinking, reported frequency of intoxication, marital status, and frequency of tavern patronage to an explanation of the extrinsic problems discussed above. Figure 2 presents that AID analysis for the males of the SRG National III study.

The extrinsic problems scale here has been dichotomized (as have all independent measures), and a value of one is assigned to those who report at least two moderately severe interpersonal problems or one severe problem caused by drinking in the respondent's opinion. All other cases are assigned a score of zero. The mean problem score for the sample as a whole is .192, as shown at the top of the AID tree. Following the branches in the tree to their tips, we find that scores on the problem measure range from a high of .659 to a low of .056. In the process, a total of 17.3 percent of the variance in the dependent "extrinsic drinking problems" measure is accounted for by all the independent measures working in concert. Whether this is a lot or a

[4] The Automatic Interaction Detection (AID) program was developed by Sonquist and Morgan (1964). It proceeds in a stepwise fashion, selecting the strongest predictor first, etc., taking into account the relationships among the predictor variables. The technique does not require assumptions of linearity or additivity. It may "bring in" a given variable at several points in the analysis if that variable is useful in accounting for the variance on the dependent measure in a particular group. The technique has received some criticism, including its requiring a greater number of cases than would, for example, a multiple regression analysis.

Figure 2. Automatic Interaction Analysis Predicting Extrinsic Drinking Problems Among U.S. Males Aged 21 Through 59 Years*

Cumulative variance explained (BSS/TSS) is 17 percent.



Dependent Measure is a dichotomy of Extrinsic Problems vs. all others

Extrinsic Problems include drinking problems with: spouse, friends, neighbors, relatives, job problems or problems with the law, or problems with health or finances—all due to drinking. (See text above for details.)

Cumulative variance explained:

Step 1. 11.8%
2. 15.3%
3. 16.3%
4. 17.3%

*Data from SRC National III (1967) study—Males 21-59 only.

little depends upon the point of view, but much more than these variables are involved in producing interpersonal problems caused by drinking.

The interrelationships among the predictors is of greater interest here, especially since frequency of intoxication, amount of drinking, and tavern patronage are all correlated around the $r = .4$ range. We note in figure 2 that intoxication alone accounts for nearly 12 percent of the variance in the problem index, heavy intake adds about another 3 percent to the explanation, and frequent tavern patronage accounts for only about an additional 1 percent. Note also that it is only among those who do not report frequent intoxication and who are not heavy drinkers that tavern patronage is a less important predictor than measures of intake and intoxication, but note also that the three variables are highly interrelated and are part of a pattern of alcohol use that extends beyond the tavern's walls.

A Final Comment

The descriptions of the places where drinking is done and of what sorts of people drink there contain little that is surprising, but some important points do emerge from the quantification of these matters. First, there are great variations in who drinks and in how much is consumed. For instance, 47 percent of the population in the United States either do not drink at all or drink less often than once a month. Another 28 percent drink as often as once a month, but typically have only one to two drinks per occasion (Cahalan et al. 1969).

The term "heavy drinker" makes one uncomfortable at times, especially since it has been defined so differently from study to study. Should it be reserved for really heavy drinkers—say a quart a day? Our answer is no, for those who drink much lesser amounts than this do experience intoxication and do have somewhat higher rates of drinking problems than others. But more importantly, the upper categories of most of the drinking scales—whatever they are called—do separate out people who make use of alcohol in much different ways from lighter and infrequent drinkers. Perhaps most interesting of all is the separation of heavier drinkers from lighter drinkers. As shown in the material above on tavern patronage, there is a good chance that heavy drinkers associate mostly with other heavy drinkers on social occasions, and that abstainers see mostly other abstainers and light drinkers. The correlates of drinking patterns—age, sex, religion, ethnicity, region, etc.—indicate the lines along which drinkers are separated into heavier and lighter categories.

Questions of who associates with whom are implicit in studies of the effects of drinking situations upon drinkers. To some extent it is

a false issue to ask whether bars create heavier drinking among light drinkers and even abstainers. For the most part, they are not there, and among those few who are present, the amount of influence is also to be questioned. Some data suggest that pressures to drink more are resisted more often among lighter drinkers than among heavier ones, and that the amount drunk by light drinkers as a response to social pressures at parties may not be great (Clark 1977). For instance, whether influences over a longer period of time or under a change of life circumstances (such as entering or leaving the armed services, etc.) will produce larger and lasting effects, cannot be ascertained for these data. It does seem very likely, however.

The tavern and the bar have come in for more than their share of attention from researchers and journalists, given the fact that there is less drinking in these settings than in the home and at parties. No doubt this is because bars are public and thus fairly easy to study, and perhaps also because the reputation of public drinking places is not spotless. Bars contain a relatively high proportion of drinkers and of drinkers with problems, but even among heavier drinkers, the home is the place where most drinking is done. No general answer can be given as to whether public drinking places add to drinking problems in an absolute sense. Drinkers do report that they "drink more than usual" in bars, but whether the level of drinking would decrease if there were no bars is another matter.[5] What is needed is a study of drinking in situations including taverns to see whether and how drinking is influenced. We do not know, for instance, the extent to which the effects of taverns are somewhat outside the control of the patron and lodged in the context of heavy drinking, and the extent to which heavier drinking in bars is the drinker's free choice.[6]

The most general point to be drawn from discussion of places of drinking is that the survey data do show enormous variations in drinking behavior that are associated with the situations. Survey data are excellent also with respect to rates of problems (although relatively small numbers of problem drinkers usually hamper analysis). But very little is known about the ways in which drinking and problems arise in social situations; we need to know what specifics of situations interreact with characteristics of drinkers *in those situations*, and this cannot be done well with existing data.

[5] Some slim evidence may be drawn from such studies as Prairietown (Dewar and Sommer 1962) where the introduction of beer bars did not make an apparent difference in consumption. In a different context, Makela (1972) found that changes in the availability of beverages resulted in the new beverage being added, not substituted, for the older beverage. For a discussion of various effects of alcoholic beverage regulations, see Wilkinson (1970); Room (1971); Popham et al. (1976).

[6] But see Harford (1975) and Gerstel (1975) for some evidence on these points which suggests that drinking in public places is heavier than drinking in private places.

Appendix: Two Measures of Drinking

There have been a good many measures of amount of drinking used in the various SRG studies referred to in this paper. The two described below are generally representative of others in principle but not in detail—the categories, e.g., "heavy drinker," are not exactly comparable nor can they be made so since they were based on different questions. These two are, of course, the ones used most often in the discussion above. For exact descriptions of other scales and indexes referred to, see the referenced works.

The Frequency-Quantity Index from the SRG San Francisco Study of 1962 is based on the one beverage that a respondent used most, taking into account both frequency of drinking and amount taken at each sitting. For example, if a respondent drinks beer more often and in greater quantity than he or she drinks either wine or distilled beverages, the F-Q Index is based entirely on beer drinking. The F-Q Index, then, is a comparative measure but is not an estimate of an individual's total intake of alcoholic beverages. The various patterns of alcoholic beverage usage have been combined to form the following seven groups:

F-Q I includes all drinkers who have any one beverage at least three or four times a week and usually have four or more drinks at a time and sometimes five or more at a time.

F-Q II includes: (a) all respondents not in F-Q I who drink any one beverage nearly every day or more often and have more than two drinks on some occasions; (b) all respondents who drink any one beverage three or four times a week and sometimes have five or more drinks on an occasion; and (c) all respondents who drink twice a month but less often than once a week and usually have five or more drinks on each occasion. F-Q I and II are termed "heavy."

F-Q III includes all respondents not included in F-Q II who drink from one to four times a week and sometimes have more than two drinks on an occasion.

F-Q IV includes all respondents who drink at least once a week but never have more than two drinks on an occasion.

F-Q V includes all respondents not included in F-Q II who drink at least once a year but less often than once a week and sometimes have more than two drinks at a sitting.

F-Q VI includes all respondents who drink any beverage at least once a year but less often than once a week and never have more than two drinks on an occasion.

F-Q VII includes all respondents who drink less often than once a year or who never drink any alcoholic beverages.

The Amount of Drinking Index from the SRG National Studies I, II, and III is based on a series of questions asking separately about the frequency of drinking wine, beer, and distilled beverages. Another series of questions asks about the frequency of drinking certain amounts on a single occasion. From these detailed questions, we are able to build an index sensitive to usual amount of drinking and to the largest amounts that the respondent drinks on an occasion. Separate categories are provided for those who do not drink at all and for those who drink at least once a year, but less often than once a month. The categories are these:

Abstainers	those who drink less often than once a year or not at all
Infrequent drinkers	those who drink at least once a year, but less often than once a month
Low-volume/low-maximum drinkers	low volume = 1 to 17.5 drinks per month; low maximum = never 3 or 4 drinks on an occasion

Social Research Group Studies

The Social Research data mentioned throughout the text have been analyzed in many past studies. When these past studies resulted in a citable work, whether published or not, the usual references are given. However, when the reference is to newly analyzed data from past surveys, a method is needed to refer to the study rather than to any particular work. We have used the initials of the Social Research Group, a one- or two-word description of the location of the sample, and the data, e.g., SRG National II (1967). A brief description of the relevant studies follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, 1962: 1,268 interviews forming an area probability sample of the adult population of San Francisco, California. The completion rate for this study was 92 percent.

NATIONAL I, 1964: Based on personal interviews with 2,746 adults comprising 90 percent of those randomly selected to represent the adult household population of the United States, exclusive of Hawaii and Alaska.

NATIONAL II, 1967: Based on reinterviews of 1,359 respondents who were included in a systematically selected subsample of respondents in the National I (1964) survey. Overall response rate was 80 percent of those eligible (1965).

NATIONAL III, 1969: Based on 978 personal interviews within a new probability sample of American men, aged 21 to 59 years. The

sample was selected according to procedures used in the National I (1964-65) survey. The rate of completed interviews was 73 percent of the eligible households.

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Psychosocial Correlates of Tavern Use: A National Probability Sample Study*

Joseph C. Fisher

The tavern has often been the subject of sociological investigation. The distribution of drinking establishments in the community has been examined as have the drinking practices of patrons. The social functions performed by the tavern and the norms surrounding barroom behavior have been described as well. To date, however, few studies have investigated tavern usage using representative samples. Tavern use and factors affecting its frequency based on the responses of a national probability sample is the subject of this report.

Historical and early sociological studies of tavern use have been functional, stressing the role of the tavern as a center for the social life of the community. The social needs that can be fulfilled by tavern use have been recognized in societies as diverse as Tzarist Russia (Efron 1959), Victorian England (Harrison and Trinder 1969; Harrison 1971), and 19th century America (Moore 1897). These studies have noted that the tavern was the only established place for recreation and amusement (Harrison and Trinder 1969), and, with the church, it was one of the few institutions one could enter and be on a par with everyone else (Harrison 1971).

The functional aspects of a tavern fall into three general categories: as a principal source of entertainment and recreation (Committee of Fifty 1901; Harrison and Trinder 1969; Lewis 1955; Moore 1897); a place that fulfills sociability needs by providing a milieu in which friends can meet (Committee of Fifty 1901; Harrison and Trinder 1969; Moore 1897); and, perhaps most importantly, as a tolerant environment where self-expression is promoted by a democratic atmosphere and by norms that tolerate behavior that would be unacceptable elsewhere (Committee of Fifty 1901; Harrison 1971; Lewis 1955; Moore 1897; Spradley 1970).

* This research was supported by the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, contract # 79-M-0317503.

Nevertheless, the tavern has been perceived as a source of societal ambivalence because of the sale of alcohol. The Committee of Fifty (1901), who were to find substitutes for the saloon, recognized that any substitute would of necessity have to perform the same legitimate social functions but without alcohol. What remains unclear is whether ambivalence stems from the sale of alcohol and incumbent ambivalence associated with alcohol use or whether it stems from the positive and negative motivations for tavern use.

As for specific substitutes, the social institution with the greatest similarity of functions is the church. Yet, although the church is democratizing and provides a place in which friends can meet, it is primarily devoted to worship and, hence, fills a more personal than social role (Moore 1897). Thus, it would appear that the tavern is nonsubstitutable because of its sale of alcohol and its capacity to satisfy sociability needs.

Previous empirical studies of barroom behavior have generally followed one of three lines: ethnographic studies, which use participant observation to record drinkers' behavior in a natural setting; ecological studies, which use the tavern as the unit of analysis and note its distribution in the community or develop typologies of drinking establishments; and more recently, representative samples, which study barroom use.

Ethnographic studies have been interested primarily in social interaction in the bar. One result of these studies has been to provide an empirical base for functional analyses and to confirm the role of sociability, recreation, and self-expression in bar use (Cavan 1966; LeMasters 1975; Ossenberg 1969; Spradley 1970). Other ethnographic studies have concentrated on the effect of interaction on the frequency of drinking and duration of the drinking episode (Cutler and Storm 1975; Kessler and Gomberg 1974; Sommer 1965). In this line, groups of drinkers and social isolates have been a central focus of observation. Isolates were found to be older, to drink less, and to drink most often in the daytime or early evening. With group drinkers, the duration of the drinking episode was related to the number in the group, and the number of drinks consumed was related to duration. Consequently, group drinkers consumed more as a function of staying in the bar longer rather than drinking more rapidly.

Ecological studies have taken the tavern rather than its patrons as the subject of study (Clinard 1962; Gottlieb 1957; Pfautz and Hyde 1960; Rosenberg 1957). These studies have established an inverse relationship between licensed liquor stores and social class of the area, suggesting those with higher socioeconomic status drink at home or near their place of business. The major outcome of these ecological studies is a typology of bars which, with minor exceptions,

includes skid row bars, neighborhood taverns, cocktail lounges, and eating establishments that coincidentally serve alcohol. Clientele of these establishments differ—from working class, ethnic clients patronizing neighborhood taverns to nonresidential, transient patrons of higher socioeconomic status frequenting cocktail lounges.

More recently, tavern use has been studied with representative samples (Cahalan et al. 1969; Clark 1966; Macrory 1952). Drinking in taverns has been found to occur less often than drinking in homes, although heavy drinkers and younger individuals more often use bars (Cahalan et al. 1969). Many demographic indexes such as income and education have been found to be positively related to tavern use. The probability sample method provides further evidence of the nonalcohol-related sociability of the tavern setting since 1 in 14 abstainers was found to be a patron (Clark 1966).

This study is a continuation of the representative sample approach using a national probability sample to examine the frequency of tavern patronage as a function of family background, sociodemographic characteristics, work and social standing, and attitudinal variables. Additionally, tavern use over time was studied, as was its association with drinking behavior. Finally, explanatory models of patronage and frequency of tavern use were developed.

Method

Sample

Data for the study were drawn from the 1977 General Social Survey (Davis et al. 1978). The national probability sample consists of all individuals in the continental United States over the age of 18 who are not institutionalized at the time of the survey. A total of 1,530 respondents were interviewed.

Instrument

The General Social Survey is part of a national data collection program for the social sciences. The survey, consisting of interviews approximately 1 hour in length, has been conducted yearly since 1972. Respondents are asked a variety of questions concerning their cultural and ethnic background, sociodemographic position, behavior, and attitudes toward their relative social standing and contemporary social issues.

Among the topics considered was the respondent's sociability, including the frequency of spending an evening with relatives, with

friends, with someone living in the respondent's neighborhood, or at a bar or tavern. The last question is the focus of this study. Responses to that item formed a seven-point scale, specifically: (1) almost every day, (2) once or twice a week, (3) several times a month, (4) about once a month, (5) several times a year, (6) about once a year, and (7) never. Consequently, the lower the numerical value on the variable, the more frequently the respondent went to bars or taverns.

Procedure

The analysis performed consisted of three distinct phases: descriptive, exploratory, and explanatory. Initially, the frequency of tavern use is described by noting the frequency and proportion of the sample falling in each level of tavern use. Subsequently, variations in tavern use over time are examined by comparing responses in the 1977 survey with responses in other years. The final portion of the descriptive discussion involves comparing the drinking behavior of tavern patrons with that of nonusers.

In the exploratory phase, the frequency of tavern use is related to sets of variables that are indicative of general characteristics of the sample. For example, in one analysis tavern use is associated with 12 variables that represent the effect of family background. Similar analyses are performed for sociodemographic characteristics, religion, work status and social standing, and general outlook. Variable definitions appear in each subsection describing the specific analysis.

The statistical procedure used in the exploratory phase is regression analysis. Moreover, tavern use has been categorized into nonuse, and weekly, monthly, and yearly use, to avoid the estimation of small differences. The dependent variable is ordinal and not interval, as a consequence. Hence, no attempt is made to interpret the magnitude of the coefficients; instead, the direction of the results is stressed. Additionally, the sample size is very large, and to diminish the possibility of the detection of spurious effects, a more stringent critical level than normal was chosen ($p < .01$) to indicate statistical significance.

In the explanatory stage, the predictors are related again to tavern use, in this case in a single analysis. First, a discriminant model is constructed to distinguish tavern patrons from nonpatrons. Then a regression model is employed to explain the frequency of tavern use. As in the exploratory phase, four categories for tavern use are employed. Family background variables have been omitted from the explanatory phase because of a large number of missing observations.

Results and Discussion

Frequency of Tavern Use

A total of 1,525 (99.7 percent) of the individuals surveyed responded to the tavern use question while 5 (.3 percent) refused to answer or could not recall. Of those responding, half (762) stated that they went to a tavern at least once a year and a like number (763) reported that they never go to a bar or tavern. Thus, the tavern appears to be a potential social outlet for half of the adult population in the United States.

The frequency of tavern use for responders is presented in table 1. Interestingly, for those who use a tavern, the responses are uniformly distributed across categories, with approximately 1 in every 11 respondents falling in each group. The two exceptions to this pattern are the extreme groups, specifically those who never use a tavern or bar and those who go almost daily. With the latter group, only 1 in 40 respondents indicated an approximate daily use. If the responses are categorized as discussed in the previous section, 178 (11.7 percent) individuals are weekly users, 276 (18.1 percent) are monthly users, 308 (20.2 percent) use a tavern yearly, and, as before, 763 (50.0 percent) never go to a tavern or bar.

Table 1. Frequency of Tavern Use

Utilization	*f*	Percent	Cum Percent
Almost every day	39	2.6	2.6
Once/twice a week	139	9.1	11.7
Several times a month	124	8.1	19.8
About once a month	152	10.0	29.8
Several times a year	164	10.8	40.6
About once a year	144	9.4	50.0
Never	763	50.0	100.0
Total	1,525	100.0	

The frequencies obtained from the national probability sample are intriguing in light of past survey results. For instance, Clark (1966) observed that 44 percent of a sample drawn in San Francisco were tavern users while Macrory (1952) found that fully 62 percent of a sample in Dane County (Madison), Wisconsin, were tavern patrons. Thus, the San Francisco sample more closely approximates the national norm of 50 percent. Possible reasons for the wide discrepancy reported by Macrory include the regional and rural effects present in the Wisconsin sample. Undoubtedly the most plausible explanation,

however, is that pointed out by Clark (1966)—namely, that the low response rate in the Wisconsin study (37 percent) introduced biases not present when a near-perfect (92 percent) response rate was obtained, as in the San Francisco survey.

The tavern use question in the San Francisco study was similar to that used on the national questionnaire, and thus it is possible to make further comparisons within categories. Twelve percent of the San Francisco sample were found to be weekly patrons and 15 percent were monthly patrons. Yearly patrons accounted for 17 percent, and 57 percent reported never using a tavern. These percentages are remarkably similar to those obtained in the nationwide sample. The differences that do exist are minor, with those in the national sample being slightly more likely to report being monthly and yearly tavern users (three percentage points in both cases) and less apt to be nonpatrons (a seven-percentage point difference). It would appear, therefore, that the frequency of tavern use is quite consistent in the two studies.

Tavern Use Over Time

As noted in the methodology section, the survey used in this study is conducted yearly. The questionnaire, on the whole, remains the same for each panel, although some behavioral and attitudinal items, such as the frequency of tavern use, are asked in two of every three years. The 1974, 1975, 1977, and 1978[1] surveys contained a tavern use item, and the distribution of responses in these samples appears in table 2.

Table 2. Distribution of Tavern Use Over Time

Utilization	1974	1975	1977	1978	Total
Day	33 (2.3)	22 (1.5)	39 (2.6)	29 (1.9)	123 (2.1)
Week	139 (9.5)	114 (7.7)	139 (9.1)	133 (8.7)	525 (8.8)
Several/month	92 (6.3)	98 (6.6)	124 (8.1)	140 (9.2)	454 (7.6)
Once a month	131 (9.0)	136 (9.2)	152 (10.0)	112 (7.3)	531 (8.9)
Several/year	178 (12.2)	134 (9.1)	164 (10.8)	186 (12.2)	662 (11.0)
Once a year	112 (7.7)	140 (9.5)	144 (9.4)	153 (10.0)	549 (9.2)
Never	777 (53.1)	832 (56.4)	763 (50.0)	775 (50.7)	3147 (52.5)
Totals	1,462 (100.1)	1,476 (100.0)	1,525 (100.0)	1,528 (100.0)	5,991 (100.1)

[1] Data from the 1978 survey were not available during the preparation of this paper. Before the analysis was completed, however, the marginal distribution of responses became available for the tavern use question on the 1978 survey. Consequently, they were used only in the analysis of responses over time since marginal distributions are the only requirement of the analysis.

A chi-square test of the frequencies in table 2 provides evidence of a significant difference in tavern use over time ($\chi^2_{18} = 45.40$, $p < .0005$). Yet the most immediately apparent feature of the distribution of responses is the lack of variability over time. For tavern patrons, regardless of frequency category, there is at most a three-percentage point difference in the percentages across years. For nonpatrons, the differences are somewhat greater, ranging from a high of 56.4 percent in 1975 to a low of 50.0 percent in 1977. In general, the proportion of the sample who are tavern patrons has increased in recent years.

The stability of the pattern of responses in table 2 is more clearly demonstrated by collapsing the frequencies into weekly users, monthly users, yearly users, and nonpatrons. When this is done, table 3 results. As before, minimal variation is present although the frequencies across years are significantly different ($\chi^2_9 = 21.97$, $p < .01$). Regardless of year, approximately one in nine respondents are weekly users, one in six use a tavern monthly, one in five frequent a tavern on a yearly basis, and slightly over half are nonpatrons.

Table 3. Categorized Frequencies Over Time

Utilization	1974	1975	1977	1978	Total
Weekly	172 (11.8)	136 (9.2)	178 (11.7)	162 (10.6)	648 (10.9)
Monthly	223 (15.3)	234 (15.8)	276 (18.1)	252 (16.5)	985 (16.5)
Yearly	290 (19.9)	274 (18.6)	308 (20.2)	339 (22.2)	1211 (20.2)
Never	777 (53.1)	832 (56.4)	763 (50.0)	775 (50.7)	3147 (52.5)
Totals	1462	1476	1525	1528	5991

If any tendency is present, it would appear that higher proportions of the samples in recent years are tavern patrons, with the gains occurring in the monthly and yearly categories. This pattern may be a result of a growing trend in tavern use. It may also be a function of the economic recession that occurred in 1974 and 1975 which could have inhibited tavern use.

Tavern Use and Drinking Behavior

Two items on the survey dealt with respondents' drinking behavior. Specifically, respondents were to indicate whether they used alcohol or were total abstainers; 1,099 (72.1 percent) of the 1,525 individuals who answered were drinkers while 426 (27.9 percent) were total abstainers. Of the drinkers, 729 (66.4 percent) were tavern patrons while the remaining 369 (33.6 percent) were nonpatrons. For

total abstainers, 32 (7.5 percent) were tavern users while the remaining 393 (92.5 percent) were nonusers. These percentages deviate substantially from those reported by Clark (1966), who found that 46 percent of drinkers were not tavern patrons. Conversely, they are almost identical in one respect to the San Francisco survey in which 7 percent of abstainers were tavern patrons.

Since the primary function of a tavern is to dispense alcohol, the discrepancy of tavern users in the drinking and nondrinking categories is not surprising. Yet, if the only function of taverns were to sell alcohol, clearly there would be no reason for a nondrinker to be a patron. Thus, the additional social functions performed by a tavern and its subsequent attractiveness are signalled by the small yet not trivial proportion of abstainers who are patrons.

The second drinking behavior item on the national survey concerned drunkenness or, more precisely, responses to the question, "Do you sometimes drink more than you think you should?" Abstainers were not asked the question. Of the 1,104 possible respondents, 407 (36.8 percent) indicated that occasionally they did drink more than they should, 677 (61.3 percent) indicated that they did not, and 20 (1.8 percent) failed to respond. Among the former, 338 (83.3 percent) were tavern patrons, and the remainder, 68 (16.9 percent), were not. For those who did not report drunkenness, 384 (56.7 percent) were tavern users, and 293 (43.3 percent) were not.

Again the difference in proportions is not unexpected, given the primary purpose of the tavern. However, a germane question that is unanswered is whether a higher percentage of problem drinkers go to taverns or whether the tavern setting promotes excessive drinking. Although this question cannot be addressed by the information contained in the survey, past studies of barroom behavior suggest that the setting can contribute to increased drinking. For example, a number of authors (Cavan 1966; LeMasters 1975; Ossenberg 1969; Spradley 1970) note that taverns provide a protective environment in which wider-than-normal ranges of behavior are tolerated. Thus, drunkenness may be more common in taverns since sanctions are less severely imposed there.

Effect of Family Background

The first set of variables used in the exploratory phase involved indicators of the respondent's family background. In particular, the following variables were used as predictors of tavern use: (1) born—whether or not the respondent was native born, (2) sibs—number of siblings, (3) residence—size of the town in which the respondent lived

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when aged 16, (4) income—family income, (5) father's occupation—whether the father was a white collar or blue collar worker, (6) father self-employment—whether the father was self-employed, (7) mother work—whether the mother worked, (8) father education—father's education, (9) mother education—mother's education, and (10) religion in which the respondent was raised expressed as three dummy variables (Protestant, Catholic, and Jew). The last three variables measure the effect of being raised in one of the three religions versus being raised in no religion.

Table 4. Regression Analysis with Family Background Variables

Variable	*b*	se*b*	beta	*F*[1]
Born	.212	.151	.044	1.958
Sibs	.019	.012	.057	2.747
Residence	−.057	.034	−.059	2.876
Income	.003	.002	.047	.004
Father occupation	−.053	.091	−.022	.341
Father self-emp.	.027	.075	.012	.133
Mother work	.121	.070	.056	2.953
Father educ.	.060	.070	.036	.737
Mother educ.	−.355	.069	−.205	26.734
Protestant	.065	.192	.209	.115
Catholic	−.248	.197	−.102	1.589
Jew	.350	.279	.052	1.572
Constant	2.897			

$R^2 = .0800$

[1] In this and all tables hereafter an F-statistic of 6.68 for tests of individual coefficients is needed for significance at the $p < .01$ level.

The results of the regression analysis relating the 12 predictors to tavern use are presented in table 4. When considered simultaneously, the 12 predictors are significantly related to tavern use as indicated by the overall F-statistic ($F_{12,980} = 7.098$, $p < .001$). Nevertheless, the explanatory power of the model is not strong with only 8 percent of the variance in tavern use accounted for by the predictors ($R^2 = .0800$).

When individual tests of the coefficients are performed, only one variable is significantly related to tavern use. Further, the sign of the coefficient (negative) indicates that the higher the mother's educational attainment the more likely the respondent is to go to a tavern. This finding is intriguing given past findings (Cutter and Fisher 1980) in which the respondent's mother was shown to have a major impact on the development of alcohol use attitudes. The role of

family influences, especially that of the mother, would appear to be a fruitful area for future research.

Another noteworthy finding is that religious training has little effect on later tavern use. Recall that the three variables quantified the mean increase or decrease in tavern use of those trained in a particular religion over those with no religious training. Thus, a significant regression coefficient would mean that those respondents trained in that religion were more or less, depending on the sign of the coefficient, likely to be tavern users than those with no religious training. Given the preponderance of evidence documenting the effect of religious training on drinking behavior, this finding seems unusual. Perhaps religious proscriptions on alcohol use are moderated by the other functions performed by a tavern.

Sociodemographic Characteristics

Another set of predictor variables involved the sociodemographic characteristics of the respondent. The variables used were: (1) home pop—number of persons living in the home, (2) children—number of children in the home, (3) age, (4) race—whether the respondent was white or nonwhite, (5) marital—whether or not the respondent was married, (6) degree—the respondent's educational level, (7) size—size of the town (in thousands) of residence, and (8) sex. The regression analysis relating these variables to tavern use is reported in table 5.

The overall test statistic is significant ($F_{8,1493} = 43.667$, $p < .0001$) and when individual tests of the coefficients are performed, four of the eight variables are related to the frequency of tavern use. The most powerful relationship is for sex, and the sign of the regression coefficient (positive) indicates that males are more apt to be tavern

Table 5. Regression Analysis with Sociodemographic Characteristics

Variable	*b*	se*b*	beta	*F*
Home pop	.020	.019	.030	1.037
Children	−.005	.016	−.009	.095
Age	.018	.002	.286	101.251
Race	.354	.079	.109	20.241
Marital	−.343	.056	−.154	37.400
Degree	−.065	.038	−.042	2.960
Size	−.001	.000	−.057	5.670
Sex	.565	.050	.263	126.208
Constant	1.500			

$R^2 = .1897$

users than are females. Second, tavern use decreases with age. For marital status, married respondents were less likely to be tavern users, and, finally, whites used taverns more frequently than did nonwhites.

The findings mentioned above are consistent with the results of previous surveys. The reasons for sex differences in drinking behavior are probably due to divergent social norms for public drinking. As for age, Clark (1966) suggests that the inverse relationship may be a function of less favorable attitudes toward taverns among older respondents or less interest in alcohol. However, it may also be that social activity generally declines with age, and tavern use is part of this process. The difference for race is more difficult to explain unless race is correlated with differences in religious preference or some other variable related to drinking behavior.

Religion

Six variables were used to quantify religious effects on tavern use, including: (1) church group—whether or not the respondent was a member of a church group, (2) attend—frequency of church attendance, (3) rel. intensity—the expressed strength of the respondent's beliefs, (4) Protestant—whether or not the respondent was a Protestant, (5) Catholic—whether or not the respondent was a Catholic, and (6) Jew—whether or not the respondent was a Jew. As before, the last three variables measure the mean difference in being in a particular religion versus expressing no religious preference. The regression analysis relating the six predictors to the frequency of tavern use is presented in table 6.

It would appear from the coefficients and associated statistical tests that religious involvement is more important than religious affiliation. Two variables are significantly related to tavern use, the

Table 6. Regression Analysis with Religion Variables

Variable	*b*	*seb*	beta	*F*
Church group	−.116	.067	−.055	3.054
Attend	.040	.014	.100	8.102
Rel. intensity	−.169	.035	−.153	23.731
Protestant	−.107	.235	−.047	.207
Catholic	−.421	.239	−.176	3.090
Jew	.128	.290	.019	.194
Constant	3.685			

R^2 = .0636

frequency of church attendance and the respondents' subjective assessment of the strength of their religious beliefs. In both cases, the direction of the relationship indicates that the stronger one's religious involvement is, the less frequently one goes to a tavern. Although subject to chance fluctuations, the sign of the coefficients for religious affiliation suggests that Protestants and Catholics go to taverns less frequently, and Jews go more frequently than those having no religious preference.

The lack of a strong relationship between religious affiliation and tavern use is puzzling given past research that has demonstrated an association, particularly for abstinent faiths. Perhaps religious influence is best measured by religious involvement, and when this is controlled, as in the regression model, specific affiliation makes little difference. Further, as noted throughout this discussion, taverns perform legitimate functions independent of alcohol use. If these functions are also filled by another social institution, involvement in one will limit interest in the other. Thus, if the church satisfies the sociability needs of its members, greater involvement in its activities will diminish the attractiveness of the tavern as a social outlet.

Work Status and Social Standing

Employment characteristics and tavern use were investigated by relating the latter to: (1) self-employed—whether or not the respondent was self-employed, (2) occupation—whether the respondent's occupation was white collar or blue collar, (3) unemployed—whether the respondent was unemployed or not, (4) hours worked, (5) income, and (6) prestige—the prestige rating (Siegel 1971) of the occupation. The regression analysis using these variables as predictors is reported in table 7.

Table 7. Regression Analysis for Work Characteristics

Variable	*b*	*seb*	beta	*F*
Self-employed	.212	.124	.059	2.913
Occupation	−.073	.100	−.034	.539
Unemployed	.267	.082	.114	10.583
Hours worked	−.007	.003	−.077	4.950
Income	−.013	.011	−.042	1.307
Prestige	.002	.003	.031	.429
Constant	2.432			

R^2 = .0238

Characteristics of one's employment, while significantly related to tavern use ($F_{6,847} = 3.448$, $p < .001$), are not strong predictors of it ($R^2 = .0238$). In fact, only one variable, unemployment, is significantly related to the frequency of tavern use. Unemployed respondents go to a tavern more frequently than those who are employed. One obvious reason for this finding is that unemployed persons have more free time. Yet the tavern use variable measures frequency of use, not duration of each occasion; hence, free time may not be the only reason. Increased tavern use by the unemployed may also be due to informal networks present in the tavern that assist in finding work (Committee of Fifty 1901; Spradley 1970).

The critical tradition within sociology suggests that drinking and tavern use are symptomatic of the inequities and frustrations associated with work and specifically with being an employee as opposed to an employer (Engels 1958). Thus, one would expect tavern use to be positively related to being a blue-collar worker and number of hours worked, and negatively related to self-employment, being a white-collar worker, income, and occupational prestige. The directions of the relationship in table 7 are consistent with the critical perspective in some instances—occupation, unemployment, hours worked, and prestige—but not in others—self-employment and income. Moreover, the lack of significant relationships indicates that critical theory is not effective in explaining the frequency of tavern use.

Table 8 presents the results of a regression analysis relating tavern use to the respondents' subjective evaluations of their social standing. Three variables were used in the analysis: (1) social class—respondents' assessment of their class position, (2) financial position—assessment of relative financial standing, and (3) financial change—perceived change, if any, in financial position. The variables are related to tavern use ($F_{3,1491} = 6.525$, $p < .001$) although they account for little variation ($R^2 = .0130$).

Social class and relative financial position are significantly related to the frequency of tavern use. The higher the perceived social class

Table 8. Regression Analysis with Subjective Evaluation of Social Standing

Variable	*b*	*seb*	beta	*F*
Social class	.126	.046	.076	7.540
Financial position	−.105	.037	−.081	7.946
Financial change	.080	.039	.057	4.253
Constant	2.927			

$R^2 = .0130$

the less often the respondent goes to a tavern. Similarly, the higher the perceived financial position the less likely the respondent is to go to a tavern. Combining the results in tables 7 and 8, it would appear that subjective evaluations of one's social position are more powerful predictors of behavior than objective indicators of it, a finding that is consistent with the symbolic interactionist tradition (Blumer 1969).

General Outlook

Another area investigated involved the respondents' subjective assessment of their environment, well-being, and situation. One set of variables deals with the expressed satisfaction with: (1) financial standing, (2) family, (3) hobbies, (4) job, (5) city, (6) friends, and (7) health. The regression analysis summarizing the influence of these variables is reported in table 9.

Table 9. Regression Analysis with Satisfaction Variables

Variable	*b*	se*b*	beta	*F*
Financial	−.042	.042	−.030	1.008
Family	−.147	.026	−.177	31.946
Hobby	.030	.022	.042	1.745
Job	−.072	.041	−.052	3.080
City	−.045	.021	−.066	4.722
Friend	.063	.028	.073	5.236
Health	.106	.022	.144	22.679
Constant	3.203			

$R^2 = .0498$

Since the overall F-statistic was significant ($F_{7,1233} = 9.238$, $p < .0001$), individual tests of the coefficients were performed, and two variables were found to be related to the frequency of tavern use. First, satisfaction with family is inversely related to the frequency of tavern use, indicating that as dissatisfaction with the family increases, frequency of tavern use increases. Second, satisfaction with health is positively related to going to a tavern. Hence, the more satisfied one is with one's health, the more likely one is to go to a tavern.

Dissatisfaction with family appears to be a relatively rare case in which tavern use is motivated by a desire to avoid an unpleasant situation rather than by the positive benefits offered by the setting. In short, it appears to be one of the few instances in which individuals may be "forced" to a tavern as opposed to being attracted to it. It is

also possible, of course, that frequent tavern use leads to marital dissatisfaction.

The final set of exploratory variables dealt with the general outlook of the respondent. Four variables were included: (1) life—whether the respondent felt that life was exciting, routine, or dull, (2) fear—whether or not there was an area within a mile of the respondent's residence in which he or she was afraid to walk at night, (3) happy—whether the respondent felt himself or herself to be very happy, fairly happy, or unhappy, and (4) health—subjective evaluation of health: excellent, good, fair, or poor. Taken as a set, these variables are significantly related to tavern use ($F_{4,1478} = 18.008$, $p < .0001$, $R^2 = .0465$) (table 10).

Table 10. Regression Analysis for General Outlook

Variable	*b*	se*b*	beta	*F*
Life	.126	.049	.071	6.499
Fear	−.262	.055	−.122	22.510
Happy	−.138	.046	−.083	8.978
Health	.168	.033	.140	26.488
Constant	3.189			

$R^2 = .0465$

Three of the four predictors are related to tavern use. Specifically, health is significant again, and as before, the better one's health is (in this case, perceived health), the more often one goes to a tavern. Health is similar to age in that one must be capable physically to go out socially. Those who perceive their environments to be threatening, as indicated by fear, are less apt to go to taverns. Finally, happiness is negatively related to tavern use. As with family satisfaction, general happiness seems to be one of the rare instances in which tavern use is symptomatic of a problem rather than a positive social activity.

Explanatory Models

The final phase of the analysis involved the construction of explanatory models for tavern use and the frequency of tavern use. Variables used in the exploratory phase of the study were again included as candidates for the explanatory models. Initially, a simple patron-nonpatron dichotomy was employed, and a discriminant model that best distinguished the two groups was selected. Subsequently, tavern use was used as the dependent variable in a regression analysis; tavern use was categorized into weekly, monthly, and yearly users, and nonpatrons.

Table 11. Discriminant Analysis for Patron-Nonpatron Dichotomy

Variable	Means		Weights		F
	Patron	Nonpatron	Raw	Standard	
Age	39.187	50.601	.020	.347	173.821
Race	1.091	1.151	.102	.033	11.517
Degree	.930	.683	−.096	−.066	45.439
Sex	1.466	1.651	.358	.178	49.349
Drink	1.047	1.517	1.568	.713	498.963
Protestant	.646	.750	−.359	−.165	17.740
Catholic	.323	.208	.523	.231	23.817
Attend	3.715	4.634	.010	.026	43.444
Rel. intensity	2.335	1.879	−.098	−.093	83.249
Church group	1.660	1.514	.013	.007	30.792
Fear	1.611	1.476	−.037	−.019	25.726
Unemployed	1.653	1.795	.177	.079	35.778
Constant			−3.258		

The results of the discriminant analysis are presented in table 11. Twelve variables significantly distinguish patrons from nonpatrons, and the overall discrimination provided by these variables is highly significant ($\chi^2_{12} = 572.134$, $p < .0001$). In terms of efficiency, the discriminant model has moderate explanatory power, accounting for over a third of the variation ($R^2 = .3422$) in patronage. With respect to classification, over three quarters (76.9 percent) of the sample are correctly classified. Of tavern patrons, 593 (90.0 percent) are correctly classsified by the model, and 66 (10.0 percent) are not. Comparable figures for the nonpatron group are 464 (64.8 percent) and 252 (35.2 percent), respectively.

An inspection of the individual test statistics and means for the two groups reveals that whether or not a respondent drinks is the most powerful discriminator. It is hardly surprising that tavern patrons are more apt to be drinkers since the primary function of a tavern is the sale of alcohol. Age is another important factor, with patrons being on average 11.4 years younger than nonpatrons. Males are more likely to be patrons, as are white respondents. Interestingly, higher educational achievement is associated with patronage, a finding that bears out previous results (Clark 1966). Finally, patrons are more likely to be unemployed, and they are less likely to fear their environment.

Another striking feature of the discriminant model is the overwhelming effect of religion on patronage. Nearly half of the significant discriminating variables reflect either religious affiliation or religious involvement. With regard to the former, Protestants are less likely to be patrons than those with no religious preference.

Conversely, Catholics are more apt to be patrons. The omission of Jew as a discriminating variable indicates that Jews do not differ significantly in tavern patronage from respondents who expressed no religious preference.

Religious involvement is indicated by three of the discriminating variables. On the average, patrons are less likely to attend religious services than are nonpatrons. Patrons are less likely to express strong religious beliefs, and, further, patrons are not as likely as nonpatrons to be members of church groups. Thus, when separating tavern patrons from nonpatrons, it would appear that religious affiliation as well as degree of involvement in religion are important factors.

Table 12. Explanatory Regression Model for Frequency of Tavern Use

Variable	*b*	se*b*	beta	*F*
Age	.011	.001	.185	63.615
Sex	.409	.048	.193	72.242
Marital	−.343	.049	−.157	48.675
Rel. intensity	−.074	.026	−.067	8.150
Drink	.882	.055	.382	261.115
Constant	1.461			

$R^2 = .3094$

The regression analysis for frequency of tavern use is summarized in table 12. In this model five predictors are significantly related to the frequency of tavern use ($F_{5,1392} = 124.706$, $p < .0001$). As with the discriminant model, approximately one third ($R^2 = .3094$) of the variation in tavern use frequency is accounted for by the predictors.

In some respects the regression model is similar to the discriminant analysis. In particular, whether or not a respondent drinks remains the single most important indicator of tavern use. Age and sex again are significant contributory factors. As before, being a drinker, younger, and a male is associated with more frequent use of taverns.

There are important differences in the two models, however. First, by omission, race, educational achievement, fear of environment, and unemployment are effective only in separating patrons from nonpatrons. However, the variables have no influence on the frequency of tavern use. By comparison, marital status is not meaningful in distinguishing patrons from nonpatrons, but it does influence how often the respondents go to taverns. In general, married respondents go to taverns less often than those who are not married.

The impact of religion is differential as well. When explaining patronage, religious affiliation and religious involvement are important discriminating variables. Yet, when the frequency of tavern use is the issue, religious affiliation is no longer important. In fact, objective measures of religious involvement, such as the frequency of attendance at religious services or membership in a church group, are not important factors. Instead, the respondents' subjective appraisal of the strength of their religious beliefs is the critical religious influence.

Summary and Conclusions

To summarize briefly the findings of this study, it would appear that nearly half of the adult population of the United States uses taverns as a social outlet at least once yearly. Approximately one in nine are weekly, one in six are monthly, and one in five are yearly users. Frequency of use is relatively constant over time, and if a trend exists it is toward greater use.

Alcohol use is, of course, associated with tavern use, but a small percentage of abstainers go to taverns, indicating an attractiveness that cannot be attributed to alcohol. Many variables were found to distinguish patrons from nonpatrons, including age, race, education, sex, drinking, fear of one's environment, and unemployment. Of special importance in the separation were religious variables both as indicators of affiliation and involvement. Fewer variables were predictive of tavern use, specifically age, sex, marital status, and drinking. The only religion-oriented variable that contributed to the frequency of tavern use was the personal assessment of strength of religious beliefs.

The findings are interesting for several reasons. First, using a tavern requires physical effort that healthy and younger respondents can make with greater ease. Additionally, the tavern appears to attract patrons due to its positive features and, obviously, alcohol. Only in rare instances, such as with family satisfaction and general happiness, does it appear that the tavern is a haven to escape problems. Nevertheless, these factors are not strongly related to the frequency of tavern use.

Other findings are suggestive but are not easily investigated with a structured questionnaire. For example, perceptions and subjective appraisals appear to be crucial intervening variables between objective tags such as age, race, and marital status, and the frequency of tavern use. Personal assessments of taverns and alcohol as well as self and environment appear to warrant further research. Similarly,

family backgrounds, especially with regard to the mother's role in attitude formation, require additional investigation.

Finally, the limitations of the data should be recalled. Tavern has no precise definition in this study. Personal definitions of the respondents may range from neighborhood taverns to cocktail lounges or restaurants. Given that many typologies of bars and taverns exist, it would be beneficial in the future to associate tavern use with specific types of drinking establishments.

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Public Drinking Practices of College Youths: Implications for Prevention Programs*

David P. Kraft

Drinking by college youth continues to be of intense interest. Ever since the classic study by Straus and Bacon in 1953, numerous reports have substantiated the high prevalence of beverage alcohol consumption by students enrolled at institutions of higher learning (Blane and Hewitt 1977). More recently, studies have revealed heavy drinking among college youth with attendant adverse consequences (U.S. DHEW 1976; Noble 1978). Acute alcohol-related problems among college students have become the subject of numerous prevention and intervention activities at Federal, State, and local levels.

The high prevalence of drinking and the apparently transitory nature of excessive drinking behaviors for most college students recently have been documented (Fillmore 1974). In general, the findings suggest that many more college students run the risk of experiencing one or more alcohol-related problems due to periodic drunken episodes (e.g., drunken driving, accidental injuries, fights with friends, property destruction, or missed classes or work) than will ever become chronic alcohol abusers or alcoholics. As a result, increased attention is being paid to the contextual or environmental factors that may influence the acute drinking patterns of students, especially those factors that contribute to negative consequences. It is hoped that alterations in such contextual factors may reduce some unwanted effects of drinking and may even contribute to healthy or "responsible" drinking practices (U.S. DHEW 1976).

Contextual factors that influence drinking behavior or patterns seem particularly important for colleges and universities, especially for residential schools in semi-isolated locations and those with no institutionally enforced prohibitions against drinking. These include:

- Living situation: The residential feature of a college or university reduces certain family influences on a student's drinking behavior and increases the influences of peers and the college community.

* This research was supported in part by grant H84-AA 02331 from the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism.

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• Legal factors: The coincidence of the legally sanctioned drinking age with college age (i.e., age 18, 19, 20, or 21, depending on the State law) tends to maximize norms where drinking in public signifies adult status.
• Expectancies: The high prevalence of alcohol use by college students over the years contributes to the general acceptance of drinking as the norm and the social acceptability of drinking, especially at so-called "drinking schools"—often State universities.
• Geographic factors: Residential situations increase the density of young people of similar ages who require both academic and leisure-time activities. When schools are located in semi-isolated environments, especially in rural areas, few activities are provided by the community.
• Transient population: The rapid turnover of students at most schools (approaching one-third of the student body each year) creates an environment where individual lessons from one year do not necessarily carry over to the next year, unless they become part of the school "tradition."
• Supply of alcohol: Even in States where the legal drinking age is 21, college students can readily buy alcoholic beverages—especially beer—since such beverages are highly portable and since high profits are possible through their sale.
• Institutional factors: The current emphasis on civil liberties and individual rights of students has led most schools to retreat from strict enforcement of existing alcoholic beverage regulations.
• Developmental factors: Most college youth try to act like adults by identifying with group norms and perceived adult actions and leaders. Many students lack the maturity to act on their own if conflicts arise. For example, students often will not ask for a nonalcoholic beverage at a party, even if they prefer such a drink. Especially in their first or second year, students' need for acceptance often overshadows individual differences. Public settings and activities are sought out by most students, probably as an expression of need for peer approval and social acceptance.

These factors illustrate some of the influences of contextual variables on college drinking.

To further define and clarify certain contextual influences on college drinking behaviors, this study focuses on the drinking patterns of college students at a large, semirural, State university campus in New England, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Following a description of basic drinking patterns, including where drinking occurs and the relationship between the drinking environment and drinking-related problems, certain implications for prevention programs are outlined. Finally, since this study is part of a larger attempt to influence drinking practices at that campus, two specific

interventions that have been used to attempt to modify potentially harmful public drinking practices are described.

Setting

The Campus

The University of Massachusetts at Amherst is the main campus of the three-campus University. Its enrollment of 23,500 includes 18,500 undergraduate and 5,000 graduate students. About 11,000 students live on campus in 55 residence halls, another 900 live in various fraternity and sorority houses, and the remainder live off campus in various apartments and housing developments. Students come from a broad range of socioeconomic and educational backgrounds and study the full array of disciplines, except for medical and related graduate-level disciplines which are taught at the Worcester campus.

Amherst is a semirural town in western Massachusetts, located about 30 miles north of Springfield and 90 miles west of Boston, on the eastern extreme of the Berkshire Mountains. The town is also the location of two liberal arts colleges, Amherst College (1,525 students) and Hampshire College (1,200 students). It is within 10 miles of two other colleges, Smith College in Northampton (3,000 students, mostly women) and Mt. Holyoke College in South Hadley (1,900 female students).

Alcoholic Beverage Policy

Alcoholic beverage policies at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst have been quite liberal. Following the lowering of the legal drinking age in 1973 from 21 to 18 years, students were allowed to consume alcoholic beverages freely, even within their residence halls (dormitories). The main alcoholic beverage restrictions are placed on selling alcoholic beverages, which require a special one-day "wine and malt license" under State law. Beer is served at many on-campus eating establishments, and a campus bar, called the Bluewall, was established adjacent to the Student Union where alcoholic beverages and entertainment (on weekends, primarily) are available. Although the legal drinking age was recently raised, in April 1979 from 18 to 20 years, too little time has elapsed to assess the effect of this change.

Alcohol Education Activities

Data for the present paper were gathered as part of a larger effort at the University of Massachusetts to influence student drinking

behaviors. Although a brief synopsis of such activities is provided below, more detailed descriptions are available (Lynch et al. 1978; Kraft et al. 1977).

Program Development

The University of Massachusetts has developed a broad array of student support services to complement its academic programs. One of the most comprehensive support services is the University Health Services (UHS). Since 1974, the UHS has employed over 150 personnel at any given time, including 15 physicians, 12 nurse practitioners, and 13 mental health professionals—all full-time workers—to handle over 90,000 outpatient medical visits and 8,000 outpatient mental health visits per year. In addition, the equivalent of 6 full-time health educators have led the prevention thrust of the entire health program, assisting UHS staff in educating students about how to keep healthy.

Substance abuse activities have existed in a major way since 1969, when a peer-counseling and education service called Room-to-Move (RTM) was established. Although its first 4 years were focused primarily on problems of illicit drug abuse, in 1973 Room-to-Move staff began to increase efforts to deal with alcohol abuse. Simultaneously, the Community Health Education Division (CHED) of the UHS became concerned about alcohol abuse and hired a staff member to devote up to half of her time to alcohol education activities. In 1974 a campus-wide Alcohol Task Force was formed. This group concluded that although adequate resources were available for students with alcohol problems, chiefly through on-campus UHS clinical services and numerous community resources (including Alcoholics Anonymous), more efforts were needed to mount prevention-oriented education services. As a result, three members of the Task Force submitted a grant proposal that was approved and funded by the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA). The grant was designed to implement a primary prevention effort at the University of Massachusetts: A University Demonstration Alcohol Education Project (DAEP). DAEP received close to $600,000 in Federal funds between September 1975 and August 1980. The DAEP model is currently being replicated with refinements at four other university campuses.

The overall goal of DAEP is "to promote a campus environment which is conducive to responsible decision-making about alcohol use and discourages irresponsible use." The Project is primarily educational in approach, using both extensive and intensive approaches. Extensive approaches, chiefly through widescale media efforts, make

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students aware of alcohol-related problems and issues. Intensive approaches are designed to help some students (5 to 10 percent each year who voluntarily attend the presentations) examine their own alcohol-related attitudes and behaviors through small peer-led discussion groups and staff-led courses. Other DAEP efforts are regulatory in approach, seeking to influence and modify, as necessary, various institutional and community sanctions related to alcohol use, both to assist with and as a result of the educational efforts.

The main thrust of DAEP efforts is to reduce negative alcohol-related behaviors and their consequences and to increase occasions where drinking is done safely. The negative consequences that serve as the focus of program efforts are driving while intoxicated, accidental injuries, property damage, academic difficulties, abusive/insulting behaviors, broken relationships, and chronic alcohol abuse. Alcohol consumption per se is not a focus except as it relates to problem behaviors. The clinical treatment of students with alcohol-related problems is also not a focus, except to facilitate referrals to treatment personnel and programs.

Program Model

Program planning and evaluation for DAEP uses the conceptual model developed by Lawrence Green of Johns Hopkins University (Green et al. 1978). The model proposes that each unwanted behavior or consequence (e.g., driving while intoxicated) is preceded by one or more behaviors (e.g., drinking too much at a party when the person expects to drive home). The antecedent behaviors result from a combination of predisposing, enabling, and reinforcing factors. Predisposing factors are largely the attitudes, beliefs, and experiences people bring to the situation (e.g., the belief that they can drive safely even after drinking or the belief that they would lose the esteem of peers if they asked to be taken home). Enabling factors are either personal skills (e.g., lack of the assertive skills necessary to ask for a ride, even at the risk of ridicule) or services that contribute to a given behavior (e.g., no public transportation is available, no referral resources or helping services are accessible, or no nonalcoholic food or beverages are available). Reinforcing factors are those norms, people, or situations that further contribute to the behavior (e.g., friends not preventing an intoxicated person from driving home, peer behavior that encourages heavy drinking throughout the party, or staff conduct that ignores student drunkenness). Program interventions are designed to alter relevant predisposing, enabling, and reinforcing factors. Obviously, contextual variables form the bulk of the enabling and reinforcing factors that need to be influenced by Project activities.

Program Activity

During each of its first 4 years, DAEP efforts distributed about 8,000 to 10,000 posters (many recognized by over 70 percent of the students), produced radio public service announcements and newspaper advertisements, and conducted over 100 workshops and 2 courses, reaching over 1,300 students. In addition, students were assisted in developing pamphlets on party ideas, attempts were made to influence campus pub personnel in the bar's management, and a staff-student task force was assisted in developing and implementing a comprehensive set of party-planning guidelines for the campus. One indirect result has been an increase in the number of students seeking clinical help for alcohol-related problems.

Study Methods

Descriptions of the public drinking practices of students relied primarily on two types of data. The first source of data was repeated observations and anecdotal reports by DAEP staff and other interested individuals. Wherever possible, such data were systematically collected and collated for use. The data formed an extremely important source of information for program staff before more systematic survey data became available. The second source of data was a yearly "consumer" survey of a random sample of undergraduate and graduate students. The method of collection of the survey and sample characteristics are described below.

Consumer Survey

Each year, a random sample of students was surveyed concerning their alcohol-related knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Anonymous, self-report questionnaires were mailed in October and November of 1975, 1976, 1977, and 1978 to a random sample of 1,200 students each year, yielding a yearly response rate of between 55 to 65 percent. The sample was drawn from computerized enrollment files of the University. For the purposes of this study, results from all four surveys are combined to describe experiences related to public drinking and drinking contexts. Whenever significant variations occur between years, these are noted along with possible explanations for such variations. The sample sizes and selected characteristics for each year are noted in table 1. In general, the first-year group of respondents includes a slightly higher proportion of graduate students compared with undergraduates than is represented on

campus, giving a slightly older sample with a higher proportion of married and off-campus students than in succeeding years. Years 2, 3, and 4 seem similar in composition to one another and to the overall student body.

The survey results are mainly frequencies of responses to given items. Although most items were asked all 4 years, slight changes in wording, especially between Year 1 and Year 2 surveys, made some results difficult to compare. Consequently, items are reported for only those survey years where the same or comparable wording was used. The "drinks per week" variable is the one variable not asked directly on the instrument; it is computed by combining the answers to six separate items on the questionnaire: the frequency of drinking times the quantity per occasion for beer is added to that for wine and to that for distilled beverages. For ease of presentation, percentages are used in all tables, based on the number of respondents to each item. Although the actual number of respondents to a given item may be slightly less than the total sample, the numbers of nonrespondents to a given item are so slight that actual numbers are only noted if significantly different from total sample size.

Definition of "Public"

Due to the nature of residential colleges, such as the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, much student drinking occurs in "public," i.e., in the general view of other students, with accountability to general rules of propriety in the dorms or other living areas. Although parties may take place in individual dormitory lounges or "common" areas rather than in public taverns or spaces, they are readily accessible to most students and quite visible to members of the college community. Therefore, for purposes of this discussion, no distinction is made between parties held in so-called private locations (e.g., dorm lounges) and those held in public settings (e.g., restaurants). All will be considered public practices for a residential college setting.

Results

Drinking Behaviors

The University of Massachusetts at Amherst has the reputation of a "party school" among undergraduates; in fact, it has been called

Table 1. Selected Characteristics of Random Samples of Students Completing Annual Consumer Survey of Alcohol Knowledge, Attitudes, Beliefs, and Behaviors at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1975 to 1978

Characteristic	Proportion of Responses				
	Year 1 Fall 1975 (N = 794)	Year 2 Fall 1976 (N = 695)	Year 3 Fall 1977 (N = 837)	Year 4 Fall 1978 (N = 738)	Total (N = 3,064)
Sex					
Male	55	55	50	51	53
Female	45	45	50	49	47
Age					
17-18	12	13	17	21	16
19-21	35	44	45	45	42
22-25	27	25	19	19	22
26 plus	26	18	19	15	20
Marital status					
Never married	75	80	85	87	82
Married	21	16	11	9	14
Div/sep/wid	4	4	4	4	4
Class level					
Freshperson	13	15	20	25	18
Sophomore	13	16	17	18	16
Junior	16	21	18	17	18
Senior	19	25	21	19	21
Graduate	34	17	18	17	22
Other	5	6	6	4	5
Residence					
Same sex dorm	11	10	12	12	12
Coed dorm	25	32	42	43	35
Greek house	2	2	1	2	2
Off-campus with relatives	8	9	8	7	8
Off-campus other	54	47	37	36	43
Grade-point average					
3.60-4.0	32	18	17	15	21
3.30-3.59	31	21	19	17	22
2.80-3.29	10	27	28	28	23
2.0 -2.79	1	16	16	15	12
<2.0	16[1]	1	1	1	5
Other	10	17	19	24	17

[1] University rules changed between academic years 1975-76 and 1976-77 so that persons with grade-point averages of less than 2.0 were not permitted to remain at the University for more than one semester of "probation."

"Zoo Mass" partly because of the student body's drinking and attendant rowdy behavior. Alcohol use is widespread and open. Parties on weekends are commonplace, with "weekends" lasting from Thursday through Sunday for most groups, and even including Wednesday evenings for some groups. Numerous pubs and package stores surround the campus, in addition to the on-campus pub. For example, Amherst (population 33,400 for the township in 1970) has 5 package stores, 6 additional stores that are limited to wine and beer sales, and 27 clubs or restaurants that sell alcoholic beverages. The neighboring town of Hadley (population 800 in 1970) has 2 package stores, 4 beer and wine stores, and 18 clubs and restaurants. Some package stores even provided free delivery to dormitories until the recent legal age change (April 1979). Dormitory residents are permitted to keep alcoholic beverages in their rooms with few controls on drinking practices. Alcohol-related negative behaviors have been common, with little concerted effort to reduce their occurrence. Although students and staff express concern about negative alcohol-related behaviors, many are reluctant to intervene with problematic students and situations.

The annual consumer surveys of alcohol knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors have documented that not only do most students drink, but some students drink a lot. Many students also report one or more problem behaviors related to their own drinking.

Most students drink to some extent and consider themselves light or moderate drinkers (table 2). Over 90 percent of University of Massachusetts students drink at least once a year, including approximately the same proportion of males and females. About 40 percent drink an average of under one drink every other day while an additional 46 percent drink an average of one to three drinks per day. About 7 percent consume an average of 3 or more drinks a day. The average amount of alcohol consumed per week by males tends to be twice as much as for females. An average of 68 percent of students drink beer at least once a month.

Excessive consumption occurs frequently. About 40 percent of the students report drinking enough alcohol to get a "buzz on," "tipsy," or "high" two or more times a month, with an additional 16 percent reported getting "high" "at least once a year" (table 3). When questioned about drunkenness, 47 percent reported getting drunk at least once the previous month, including 17 percent who said they were drunk three or more times that month.

Negative behaviors and adverse consequences related to drinking are reported frequently by students (table 3). An average of 30 percent of students reported driving while intoxicated at least once the

Table 2. Self-Reported Alcoholic Beverage Consumption of A Random Sample of Students Completing Consumer Survey at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1975 to 1978

Consumption Variable	Proportion of Response				
	Year 1 Fall 1975 (N = 794)	Year 2 Fall 1976 (N = 694)	Year 3 Fall 1977 (N = 837)	Year 4 Fall 1978 (N = 738)	Total (N = 3,063)
Drinks per week, past year					
None	9	9	5	5	7
Light (0–3 DPW)	40	43	38	37	40
Moderate (4–20 DPW)	43	40	50	50	46
Heavy (21 plus DPW)	8	8	7	8	7
Self-categorization of drinking					
Nondrinker	11	12	10	11	11
Light	45	53	50	51	50
Moderate	39	28	33	32	33
Heavy	3	5	4	4	4
Problem drinker	0.5	0.5	1	0.9	0.6
Alcoholic/nondrinking alcoholic	0	0.1	1	0.1	0.3
Other	1.5	1.4	1	1	1.1
Frequency of beer drinking					
None/less than once a year	19	23	20	20	20
At least once a year	14	14	10	11	12
1-3 times per month	26	31	32	26	29
1-2 times per week	26	22	26	32	27
3 or more times a week	15	10	12	11	12

previous year, and an average of 55 percent reported riding in a car "with other friends within the past year when all had been drinking."

Other negative behaviors and/or consequences occur at a lower frequency than driving behaviors. Academic problems within the previous year, such as "inability to study, inability to concentrate in class, and missing class," have occurred for 22 percent of the students, including 8 percent for whom the problems have occurred "almost once a month" or more. In the past year, 16 percent of students reported engaging in abusive or insulting behaviors, while 16 percent reported incurring minor physical injuries, 15 percent had their sexual performance negatively affected, 11 percent reported job-related problems, 8 percent had destroyed property after drinking, and 4 percent reported trouble with police. A bare 0.07 percent of students reported chronic alcohol problems at the time of the survey.

Table 3. Self-Reported Drinking Behaviors of Random Samples of Students Completing Annual Consumer Surveys at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1975 to 1978

Behavior Variable	Proportion of Responses				
	Year 1 Fall 1975 (N = 794)	Year 2 Fall 1976 (N = 695)	Year 3 Fall 1977 (N = 837)	Year 4 Fall 1978 (N = 738)	Total (N = 3,064)
Gotten a "buzz on, tipsy, or high"					
Less than once a year, or never	—	22	16	16	18
At least once a year	—	27	28	24	26
Almost once a month	—	16	16	16	16
2-3 times per month	—	17	20	20	19
1-2 times per week	—	15	17	20	17
3 or more times per week	—	3	3	4	4
Gotten drunk, past month					
Never (includes non-drinkers)	—	56	53	51	53
1-2 times	—	28	31	29	30
3-5 times	—	7	9	10	9
6 or more times	—	9	7	10	8
Negative behavior or consequences, past year, related to own drinking					
Driven car when drunk	—	24	34	32	30
Abusive/insulting behavior	—	15	17	16	16
Academic problems	—	—	21	23	22
Job problems	—	—	11	12	11
Destroyed property	—	8	8	8	8
Minor injury	—	13	15	19	16
Affected sexual performance	—	—	14	16	15
Trouble with police	—	5	3	4	4
Number of problem behaviors related to drinking past year					
None	—	55	54	50	53
One problem	—	23	16	18	19
Two problems	—	8	10	10	9
Three or more	—	3	10	10	8
Nondrinker	—	11	10	12	11

An average of 36 percent of the students experienced one or more problems each year, including 17 percent who experienced two or more problems annually.

Drinking Contexts

Anecdotal data suggest that much drinking occurs among groups of friends either at small- or medium-sized parties or at various on-campus and off-campus taverns, pubs, or restaurants. (The old distinction between taverns or bars and nightclubs used by Straus and Bacon 1953 was not used in the present study since most drinking spots in Amherst for students have a bar as well as small tables at which to sit and eat food, and since entertainment is provided on weekends, either with or without dancing.) Even in the dormitories, drinking usually occurs in private rooms by small groups of friends or roommates, seldom alone. Most drinking seems to occur on weekends, especially Friday and Saturday nights, although there are always some students drinking freely on other nights of the week. Because of the location of the campus, few students live with their parents, and many spend a high proportion of the weekends in the Amherst area (rather than going home, say, to Boston). Based on such observational and anecdotal data, DAEP has focused most efforts to influence enabling and reinforcing factors to public drinking occasions, especially student-planned parties and drinking at the on-campus pub. Since public drinking seemed to be the norm for most students, such a strategy made sense.

Survey data support the general impressions noted above. Students frequently attend parties where alcohol is served and less often go to bars or cocktail lounges. Most drinking occurs with friends on weekends, with few students usually drinking alone.

Usual Time of Drinking

Students were asked, "When do you usually drink alcoholic beverages?" followed by six forced-choice responses (table 4). Most students reported usually drinking on weekends. Of the 78 percent who reported weekend drinking, over half indicated they drank exclusively on weekends, with the remainder drinking more often on weekends than weekdays. A scant 1 percent reported drinking more on weekdays than weekends, with no one reporting drinking exclusively during the week. The self-reported behavior supports general observations.

Table 4. Selected Contextual Factors Related to Student Drinking Behaviors, Reported by Random Samples of Students Completing Annual Consumer Surveys at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1975 to 1978

Contextual Variable	Proportion of Responses				
	Year 1 Fall 1975 (N = 794)	Year 2 Fall 1976 (N = 695)	Year 3 Fall 1977 (N = 837)	Year 4 Fall 1978 (N = 738)	Total (N = 3064)
When do you usually drink?					
Never	8	—	7	7	7
Weekends exclusively	37	—	46	42	42
Weekends more than weekdays	37	—	33	37	36
Equally, weekends and weekdays	17	—	13	13	14
Weekdays more than weekends	1	—	1	1	1
Weekdays exclusively	0	—	0	0	0
Do you usually drink (with) . . .					
Don't drink	8	—	6	6	7
Alone	1	—	1	1	1
Friends [1 or 2	31	—	31	33	32
Friends [group	40	—	41	40	40
Family/relatives	NA	—	6	6	4
Acquaintances [1 or 2	3	—	3	3	3
Acquaintances [group	13	—	9	9	10
Whomever	4	—	3	2	3
Close friends with drinking problem					
None	58	—	66	71	65
One	19	—	17	15	17
Two or more	23	—	17	14	18
Anyone urged you to get help last year					
Don't drink	—	—	7	6	5
Drinking not a problem	—	59[1]	47	50	52
No one	—	38	43	41	40
One or more	—	3	3	3	3

[1] Results extrapolated from available responses.

Usual Companions, If Any

Students were asked, "When you drink alcoholic beverages, do you usually drink . . . ?" and were given eight forced-choice response options (table 4). Over two-thirds of the students each year reported

usually drinking with friends, including 32 percent who usually drink with "one or two close friends" and 40 percent "with a group of close friends." Only 4 percent usually drink with family or relatives. Drinking with acquaintances was the usual pattern for 13 percent of the students, three-quarters of whom drink "with a group of acquaintances" rather than with only one or two. A small group (3 percent) report drinking with anyone who is around, and only 1 percent usually drink alone. Although the results for solitary drinking seem low, anecdotal observations tend to confirm that most students drink with one or more friends, such as roommates, rather than by themselves. Because of the lack of constraints on drinking, most students drink openly with other people.

When survey data from Year 4 only were crosstabulated with other variables, a few additional observations emerged (table 5). Few male/female differences were evident except for drinking with acquaintences or "whomever," which was reported twice as frequently by males than by females. Conversely, the small number of students (nine) who reported usually drinking alone contained twice as many females as males. No significant differences by student class or grade-point average were noted. When drinking behaviors and associated problems were considered, higher proportions of students who drink heavy amounts (an average of 21 or more drinks per week) reported usually drinking with acquaintances or whomever (29 percent) compared with light-to-moderate drinkers (14 percent). Twice as many students who reported consuming enough alcohol to get a "buzz on" at least twice a month usually drink with acquaintances or whomever (21 percent) compared with students who drink to get a "buzz on" less than once a month (10 percent). Similarly, almost twice as many students who report one or more problem behaviors related to their own drinking usually drink with acquaintances or whomever (20 percent) compared with student drinkers with no reported problems (10 percent). As might be expected, preliminary analyses show that there are high correlations between heavy consumption, students who drink to get a "buzz on" frequently, and those reporting negative consequences from their drinking. Students who drink frequently and heavily seem willing to do so anywhere and at any time. The persons with whom they drink could be friends or family, but just as often could be anyone who happens to be around. In other words, drinking is more of a focus than is the particular social group. Efforts to influence the drinking habits of such "regulars" should focus on the location of their drinking more than on their friends.

An item related to perceived habits of friends was asked on three of the four surveys: "How many close friends at the University of Massachusetts do you have at present who you know or suspect have

Table 5. Crosstabulations of Selected Contextual Factors by Selected Characteristics Related to Student Drinking, Reported by a Random Sample of Students Completing the Year 4 Consumer Survey at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, November 1978 (N = 738)

Characteristic	Proportion of Respondents Who Usually Drink			
	Don't Drink	Alone	With Friends, Family	With Acquaintances or Whomever
Gender				
Male	5	1	75	19
Female	7	2	81	10
Student Class				
Freshperson	4	1	77	18
Sophomore	7	0	80	13
Junior	5	1	78	16
Senior	7	1	81	11
Graduate	7	3	79	11
Special, Other	10	3	64	23
Grade-point Average				
3.6-4.0	8	3	77	12
3.3-3.59	10	1	78	11
2.8-3.29	4	1	82	13
2.0-2.79	5	1	75	19
Less than 2.0	0	0	(67)	(33)
Other	6	2	77	15
Drinks per week				
None	97	0	3	0
Light to moderate (1-20)	1	1	84	14
Heavy (21 plus)	0	6	65	29
How often get a "buzz on, tipsy, high"				
Less than once a year or never	34	2	58	6
At least once a year	0	2	87	11
Almost once a month	2	0	88	10
2-3 times per month	0	1	81	18
1-2 times per week	0	1	79	20
3 or more times per week	3	3	57	37
Problem behaviors related to drinking, past year				
None	1	1	88	10
One problem	1	1	80	18
Two problems	0	4	77	19
Three or more	1	1	74	24
Nondrinker	45	1	43	11

a drinking problem?" (table 4). While about two-thirds of those surveyed (65 percent) in years one, three, and four did not acknowledge any close friend with a drinking problem, 17 percent reportedly knew one such friend, 10 percent knew of two such friends, and 8 percent reported 3 or more friends with suspected problems. Crosstabulations with other variables for the Year 4 survey show no differences are reported by males and females, by student class level, or by grade-point average. However, heavy drinkers, students who try to get a "buzz on" two or more times per month, and students experiencing one or more alcohol-related problems reported one or more close friends with drinking problems more frequently than the other drinking students: 38 percent heavy drinkers compared with 28 percent light and moderate drinkers; 32 percent of students who get a "buzz on" two or more times per month compared with 25 percent for other drinking students; and 37 percent of students who experienced one or more problems in the previous year compared with 22 percent for drinking students who experienced no such problem. In fact, 51 percent of the students who experienced three or more problems the past year reported having one or more close friends with alcohol problems.

The results for drinking companions suggest that, in order to reduce negative alcohol-related behaviors, attention should be paid to occasions where acquaintances or "whomever" are drinking companions, such as at pubs and larger parties. Almost as important, efforts focused on drinking occasions with large groups of friends, such as campus parties, would affect the largest proportion of students who drink. Finally, problem drinkers tend to associate with other problem drinkers. Efforts aimed at influencing students already experiencing troubles may have value not only for the individual students but also for their companions.

Party Variables

Students were asked how often they attended parties where alcohol was served, how often they drank alcoholic beverages at parties, whether nonalcoholic beverages were usually available, and whether they had consumed nonalcoholic beverages (table 6). The items provide further insights into public drinking occasions for college students.

Attendance. Students were asked, "On the average, how many times per month do you attend parties where alcoholic beverages are served?" and were given eight forced-choice responses, ranging from "never" to "more than fourteen." Table 6 presents the results collapsed into four categories. Each year, about 90 percent of students

Table 6. Location of Student Drinking and Related Behaviors, Reported by Random Samples of Students Completing Annual Consumer Surveys at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1975 to 1978

Variable	Year 1 Fall 1975 (N = 794)	Year 2 Fall 1976 (N = 695)	Year 3 Fall 1977 (N = 837)	Year 4 Fall 1978 (N = 738)	Total
Times per month attend parties where alcohol is served					
None	7	10	11	10	10
One	31	36	32	32	32
Two	25	20	21	19	21
Three or more	37	34	36	39	37
Times per month consumed alcoholic beverages at parties					
None	—	—	17	17	17
One	—	—	31	29	30
Two	—	—	23	18	21
Three or more	—	—	29	36	32
Nonalcoholic beverages readily available at parties during past year					
Yes	39	—	52	49	46
Yes, if ask	23	—	18	12	18
Don't know/sometimes	15	—	18	32	21
No	23	—	12	7	15
Consumed nonalcoholic beverages at parties during past year					
Yes	—	—	—	80	80
Times past year gone to bar or cocktail lounge					
None	—	18	18	18	18
Less than once a month	—	18	20	16	18
One to three times a month	—	37	34	34	35
Weekly or more often	—	27	28	32	29
Location—drinks frequently at . . .					
Bluewall (on-campus pub)	—	4	—	—	4
Off-campus pub, bars, taverns	—	14	—	—	14

attend parties at least once a month, including 45 percent who attend two to five and 14 percent who attend six or more parties per month.

When crosstabulations for Year 4 are examined (table 7), no significant differences exist for party attendance by gender, student

Table 7. Crosstabulations of Location of Student Drinking by Selected Characteristics, Reported by a Random Sample of Students Completing Year 4 Consumer Survey at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Fall 1978 (N = 738)

Characteristic	Parties Attended per Month				Consumed Alcohol at Parties, per Month				Bar or Cocktail Lounge Attended per Year			
	None	1	2	3 or More	None	1	2	3 or More	Less Than Once a Month	1–3 Times a Month	Weekly or More Often	
Gender												
Male	10	31	18	41	15	29	15	41	7	23	34	36
Female	10	32	21	37	20	29	21	30	8	30	34	28
Student class												
Freshperson	7	12	24	57	11	14	24	51	9	21	33	37
Sophomore	11	33	13	43	21	25	13	41	7	24	37	32
Junior	10	26	18	46	15	27	15	43	3	23	33	41
Senior	11	36	21	32	21	29	20	30	5	25	34	26
Graduate	13	57	19	11	20	53	17	10	10	38	34	18
Special, other	21	48	17	14	24	45	14	17	10	47	30	13
Grade-point average												
3.60–4.00	10	43	17	30	17	38	17	28	6	30	38	26
3.30–3.59	12	40	19	29	22	32	18	28	8	31	35	26
2.80–3.29	11	28	21	40	18	28	20	34	6	23	37	34
2.00–2.79	11	30	13	46	17	24	13	46	6	20	27	47
Less than 2.00	0	29	29	42	0	43	14	43	0	43	29	28
Other	8	26	21	45	15	25	19	41	10	29	32	29
Drinks per week												
None	26	31	23	20	97	0	0	3	31	44	19	6
Light-moderate (1–21 DPW)	10	34	20	36	14	32	20	34	6	28	37	29
Heavy (21 plus)	2	13	5	80	2	13	5	80	0	4	9	87
How often get a "buzz on, tipsy, high"												
Less than once a year/never	31	37	18	14	64	27	7	2	34	50	13	3
At least once a year	16	51	18	15	20	52	17	11	5	50	37	8
Almost once a month	4	46	22	28	7	41	23	29	2	18	55	25

Table 7. Crosstabulations of Location of Student Drinking by Selected Characteristics, Reported by a Random Sample of Students Completing Year 4 Consumer Survey at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Fall 1978 (N = 738)—Continued

Characteristic	Parties Attended per Month				Consumed Alcohol at Parties, per Month				Bar or Cocktail Lounge Attended per Year			
	None	1	2	3 or More	None	1	2	3 or More	Less Than Once a Month	1-3 Times a Month	Weekly or More Often	
How often get a "buzz on, tipsy, high" —Continued												
2-3 times per month	3	17	20	60	3	17	23	57	0	13	46	41
1-2 times per week	1	12	22	65	1	11	22	66	1	5	26	68
3 or more times per week	3	10	0	87	10	3	0	87	0	0	0	100
Problem behaviors related to drinking, past year												
None	13	41	21	25	19	40	21	20	10	36	36	18
One problem	5	25	19	51	6	23	19	52	1	15	41	43
Two problems	3	18	21	58	3	14	21	62	1	5	37	57
Three or more	0	17	13	70	3	17	12	68	0	13	22	65
Nondrinker	22	30	14	34	56	14	7	23	17	35	22	26

class, or grade-point average, except for a trend for seniors and graduate students to attend fewer parties per month than underclass persons and juniors, and for students with higher grade-point averages (above 3.3) to attend fewer parties per month than others. When drinking behavior is examined, "2-3 times as many heavy drinkers" (80 percent), "students who get a 'buzz on' at least twice a month" (65 percent), and "students reporting alcohol problem behaviors" (58 percent) attend three or more parties per month compared with their corresponding groups of "light or moderate drinkers" (37 percent), "students who infrequently or never get a 'buzz on'" (18 percent), and "students reporting no problem behaviors in the past year" (25 percent).

Consumed Alcoholic Beverages. Not surprisingly, most students who attend parties drink alcoholic beverages (table 6). However,

when students were asked in Year 3 and 4 surveys, "On the average, at how many of these parties do you yourself consume alcohol?" 10 percent do not attend, 7 percent do not usually drink, 30 percent drink at one party, 21 percent at two, 22 percent at three to five, and 10 percent at six or more. Hence, a small proportion of students (about 5 percent in each category) attend one or more parties each month where they don't drink alcoholic beverages. Year 4 crosstabulations (table 7) show that more females than males attend parties where they do not drink (10 percent versus 5 percent) and that changes occur among light and moderate drinkers who attend fewer than two parties per month and drinkers who infrequently get a "buzz on" or report no problem behaviors. About the same proportions of heavy drinkers and drinkers who frequently get a "buzz on" or experience problem behaviors report attending the same number of parties where they consume alcoholic beverages.

Availability of Nonalcoholic Beverages and/or Food. All but the Year 2 survey asked students, "During the past 12 months while at the University of Massachusetts have nonalcoholic beverages and/or food been available at the parties you've attended?" (five forced-choice responses, four in Year 1). The results have been used to assess enabling factors at parties. An average of 46 percent of students indicated they were readily available, 18 percent responded "yes, but have to ask for them," 21 percent indicated they were sometimes available or they didn't know, and 15 percent said "no" (table 6). Although this is one item that has shown changes in a desired direction over the 4 years, more detailed analyses will need to be made to examine this trend in light of other DAEP results. Crosstabulations of Year 4 results (table 7) do not demonstrate significant differences except for heavy drinkers, who report that fewer parties they attend have nonalcoholic beverages and/or food readily available than do other students. Unfortunately, the nonspecific nature of the question does not allow more detailed analysis of the findings. However, impressions are that heavy drinkers are less concerned with nonalcoholic beverages than other persons, and, therefore, may not notice the presence of such. In addition, they may attend more parties where the presence of nonalcoholic alternative beverages is not valued.

Consumed Nonalcoholic Beverages and/or Food at Parties. In the Year 4 survey, students were asked whether they had consumed nonalcoholic beverages at parties within the past year (table 6). There were 80 percent who said they had, including 76 percent of the males and 83 percent of the females. No differences occurred according to student class or grade-point average. However, more light and moderate drinkers (82 percent) reported consuming nonalcoholic beverages than did heavy drinkers (55 percent). Interestingly, almost as

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many students who reported getting a "buzz on" two or more times a month answered yes (72 percent) as did not (86 percent), and almost as many drinkers who had experienced one or more problems answered yes (72 percent) as drinkers reporting no problems (85 percent). Although no questions were asked about whether or not students alternated alcoholic with nonalcoholic beverages, many students who attended DAEP workshops were encouraged to do so and reported that such alternation is somewhat unusual. More educational efforts should encourage such behavior.

Frequency of Parties. Records of the number of parties and attendance at parties at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst are not kept, except for parties that sell alcoholic beverages and therefore require a one-day "wine and malt license." Although questions on the Consumer Survey can give an idea of the number of party attendees, no questions were asked about the types or frequency of actual events.

Over the 5 years between 1974 and 1979, records show the number of applications processed for one-day licenses. In general, most licensed events allow the licensee to obtain alcoholic beverages at wholesale prices and to subsequently sell such beverages at a low (wholesale) price or for a profit. In general, licensed events are for large numbers of attendees, sometimes as many as 5,000 to 10,000 persons, such as certain "Spring Fests." Until recently, such events were the only ones that required some planning before they could be held.

Between 1974 and 1978, an average of 75 licensed events per year for students were held, with 46 percent occurring each fall semester and 54 percent each spring. The figures for each academic year were 97 licenses in 1974-75, 87 licenses in 1975-76, 54 licenses in 1976-77, and 60 licenses in 1977-78. Over the 4 years, the average number of licenses per month was September, 6; October, 16; November, 7; December, 6; February, 7; March, 11; April, 15; and May, 10. Beginning in the fall of 1978, a new alcoholic beverage policy was instituted (discussed below) that helped contribute to a drop in total licenses for 1978-79 to 16. Although licensed events were frequently large, many more small-scale parties were held. For example, survey figures suggest that about 70,000 party-contacts per month occur for the 23,500 students, which may involve between 300 to 400 parties per *week* at the University.

In general, a study of party behaviors confirms that parties occur frequently, students both attend them and drink alcoholic beverages at them, and half the parties at the University have nonalcoholic beverages and food readily available. Heavy drinkers, students who frequently drink to get a "buzz on" or "tipsy," and students who

reported experiencing one or more alcohol-related problems during the previous year attend parties more frequently than other students, consume alcoholic beverages at most parties they attend, and report that a lower proportion of the parties they attend have non-alcoholic beverages and/or food readily available compared with the other students surveyed. The implications for party planners and policy makers are that reasonable guidelines need to be developed that might influence the group of heavier drinkers who attend parties very frequently, without unnecessarily inhibiting the "average" party attendee.

Bar Variables

Attendance. In Years 2, 3, and 4, students were asked, "On the average, how often in the past year have you gone to a bar or cocktail lounge—including campus and off-campus bars?" (seven forced-choice responses). Table 6 presents the results, collapsing data into four categories. Almost two-thirds of the students reported going to a bar at least once a month, including 29 percent who go at least once a week. The bar is a popular place for many students.

Crosstabulations for Year 4 data showed some interesting findings. A slightly higher proportion of men (36 percent) frequent bars at least once a week than do women (28 percent), although no differences by class level or grade-point average were apparent. More heavy drinkers go to bars at least once a week (87 percent) than light or moderate drinkers (29 percent). A higher proportion of students who experience a "buzz on" at least twice a month go to bars at least once a week (59 percent) compared with student drinkers who experience a "buzz on" infrequently or never (12 percent). Finally, a majority of students who reported one or more problem behaviors go to bars at least once a week (53 percent) compared with students reporting no problems (18 percent).

Although the main question did not distinguish between on-campus and off-campus bars, the Year 2 survey did include such a question. When asked whether they frequently went to the Bluewall, 4 percent said yes, compared with 14 percent who indicated frequent attendance at off-campus bars: Between three and four times as many students went to off-campus bars as frequented the on-campus pub in 1976–77. No analyses were done concerning on-campus versus off-campus bar attendance compared to heavy or problem drinking.

Consumption. No survey questions specifically covered drinking behavior at bars as distinct from other locations. However, a survey was conducted three times at the on-campus pub (the Bluewall) to determine both attendance and average consumption. The survey consisted of selecting representative days, counting the number of

different patrons who came to the pub those days, and then figuring the amount of alcoholic beverages consumed by using a combination of sales records—including beer meter readings—before and after inventories of the non-beer stock, and cash register tapes. DAEP personnel performed the counting and calculations, with the cooperation of the pub management. The survey was conducted on three separate days in 1977.

Results of the study showed that between 1,500 and 2,600 patrons went to the Bluewall each day and consumed an average of about two drinks per customer, mainly beer. In addition, about 2 percent of the customers during the last survey period (October 1977) purchased nonalcoholic beverages.

The results concerning bar attendance show that many students frequent bars, although not as regularly as they attend parties. About a fifth of the students who frequently visit bars go to the Bluewall. No tabulation has been made of the specific off-campus bars and their popularity, primarily because there are so many (at least 20 adjacent to campus) and because others are located away from the campus neighborhood.

Summary of Results

Between 1975 and 1978 a random sample of University of Massachusetts students surveyed each year reported that over 90 percent of students drink at least once a year, including 40 percent who drink less than 3 drinks per week, 46 percent who drink between 4 and 20 drinks per week, and 7 percent who drink over 21 drinks per week (an average of 3 or more drinks a day). When frequency of beer drinking is considered, 58 percent drink beer at least twice a month, including 39 percent who drink beer at least once a week. About 40 percent of students drink enough alcohol to get a "buzz on," "tipsy," or "high," at least twice a month and about 47 percent report getting drunk at least once a month.

Negative consequences related to their own alcohol use occurred for a number of students each year, including 30 percent who drove an automobile after having too much to drink, 22 percent whose drinking interfered with academic performance, 16 percent who became abusive or insulting, 16 percent who reported minor physical injuries, 11 percent who reported job-related problems, 8 percent who destroyed property, and 4 percent who reported trouble with the police. An average of 36 percent of the students experienced some problem related to their own drinking during the previous year, including 19 percent who only experienced one problem, 9 percent who had two problems, and 8 percent with three or more problems.

Most students drink on weekends with close friends. However, students who drink heavier amounts of alcohol or experience problems related to their alcohol use reported drinking with acquaintances or "whomever" more often than light-to-moderate or nonproblem drinkers. Heavier drinkers also associate with more close friends with drinking problems than do other students.

Parties are attended by close to 90 percent of the students at least once a month, including 14 percent who attend six or more parties per month. All but about 5 percent of the students who attend a given number of parties per month drink alcoholic beverages at each party—those who don't drink alcohol at *every* party they attend are usually light-to-moderate drinkers. Close to two-thirds of the students report that nonalcoholic beverages are available at most parties they have attended the past year. About 80 percent of Year 4 respondents reported consuming nonalcoholic beverages at a party at least once the past year.

Bars are frequented by about two-thirds of the students at least once a month, especially heavier drinkers and those who experience problems. In fact, students who frequently attend parties are more apt to attend bars or taverns than students who rarely attend parties.

The results suggest that programs aimed at reducing problem behaviors should focus attention on both parties and bars, since heavier drinkers regularly frequent both and are more apt to experience alcohol-related problems. The efforts should emphasize ways to moderate alcohol consumption, such as by spacing out drinking, or ways to insulate potential problem behaviors, such as driving after heavy drinking, from the community, e.g., by sleeping over (parties) or getting taxis home (bars).

Implications for Prevention Programs

The findings that have been presented describe in some detail the present drinking practices and environment of students at a large State university campus in New England. Although the data are far from exhaustive, they strongly support the thesis that much college drinking behavior is done in public, either at parties of various sizes or at bars (pubs, taverns). Evidence has also been cited that efforts to change unwanted or negative drinking behaviors must focus not only on educating the individual student but also on modifying various environmental and contextual factors wherever possible.

The implications of some of the above findings for prevention programs are obvious:

- Emphasize friends. Most students drink to some extent, generally a light to moderate amount, in the company of a group of close

friends. Few reserve their drinking for occasions with relatives or parents. Prevention efforts should encourage friends to help one another avoid adverse consequences related to excess alcohol use.

- Be aware of weekend drinking settings. Most students drink on weekends. Efforts to modify environmental factors must take into consideration the weekend nature of drinking activities, which are often less structured and less supervised than similar weekday events. Many weekend drinking activities occur away from campus.
- Examine party settings. Parties provide a major setting for student drinking. Most students attend at least one party per month, and about one-third attend three or more per month. Prevention activities should focus on the way parties are conducted, through a combination of educational and regulatory approaches. A party can also serve as a setting for direct education; for example, blood-alcohol concentrations can be tested before attendees leave for home.
- Stress party planning. Party planning interventions should focus on concrete steps to make a party safe and more enjoyable, such as finding a nonhazardous location, planning attractive food and beverages, arranging for a focus on something besides drinking, and planning for transportation or alternative sleeping arrangements for guests who overdrink.
- Focus on bars. Bars, pubs, taverns, or cocktail lounges provide an important setting for some students who drink, especially frequent heavy drinkers and those who drink quite often to get a "buzz on." Prevention efforts should focus on bars or pubs students attend, frequently, creating an environment as safe as possible for student drinking. Factors to be considered include location of the bar (i.e., safe access to street and residences of students), hours of operation (evenings and/or weekends), ready availability of nonalcoholic beverages and food, atmosphere conducive to relaxed socializing, nondrinking focus of activities, and the presence of trained personnel to anticipate potential problems and avert them.
- Review campus alcoholic beverage policies. Campus policies and regulations concerning alcoholic beverages should be reviewed to insure such policies are reasonable, enforceable, and consistent with the overall educational aims of the institution (education can occur even through regulations). In general, policy changes should be made only after much preparation (sometimes requiring years) with concerned student, staff, and faculty individuals and groups.
- Use of contexts for early intervention. Attempts to influence heavy drinkers already experiencing problems often can be made only through friends (who also have experienced alcohol-related problems) or through places such heavy drinkers frequent. Compared

with other students, a smaller proportion of such students show up at voluntary alcohol education activities.

Examples of Interventions

To help complete the present discussion of public drinking practices of college students, two examples of efforts made at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst to alter certain undesirable drinking practices are described below.

Alcoholic Beverage Policy

The University of Massachusetts at Amherst campus had an Alcoholic Beverage Policy, revised in the spring of 1973, that cited various statutes that applied to the campus and some additional regulations specific to student groups. As early as 1974, many UHS staff recognized a need for revisions of the policy. Most rules were vague and hard to enforce, and few encouraged students to learn ways of conducting safe parties or events. Not until the fall of 1977 did a core group of students and staff finally recognize a need for revisions. The impetus came from a number of sources: the entire campus was more aware of alcohol-related problems, especially those that occurred after large parties, and wanted either to eliminate large events or to make such occasions safe; certain junior staff in the residence halls (i.e., Resident Assistants and Heads of Residence) feared legal liability if accidents occurred at students' parties held in their dorms, and threatened not to permit such parties in the dorms; students wanted both to continue to hold parties on campus and to reduce property destruction and rowdiness; and DAEP staff felt that enough effort had been made in its first 2 years to educate key staff and students so that attempts to revise the current policy would probably lead to restrictions that were not excessive or punitive.

The Vice-Chancellor for Student Affairs convened a task force composed of eight staff and eight students. The task force met approximately eight times between December 1977 and April 1978 and devised a comprehensive set of rules and regulations for the campus. The major features of the new policy were:

- Emphasis. The new policy emphasized steps to plan safe parties and other events involving alcohol beverages, without relying solely on policing or enforcing a set of rules.
- Classification. Parties and other planned social events were defined according to size, location, types of guests, and distribution of alcoholic beverages. Small-scale events were planned for between 15 to 75 guests and often were planned only one day in advance. Medium-scale

events involved between 75 to 400 attendees and required advance planning and registration to make sure that not too many events were occurring in one place or at any one time. Large-scale events involved 400 or more attendees and required approval of preliminary plans at least 60 days before the event, and of final plans 30 days in advance. Sale of alcoholic beverages required filing an application for a special one-day license, irrespective of the size of the event.

Small-scale events required registration with the Head of Residence, Office of Greek (i.e., fraternity or sorority) Affairs, or the Provost's Office (for events sponsored by faculty members) at least 24 hours in advance. The sponsors agreed to abide by the general regulations for all events. Medium-scale events required clearance at least 1 week in advance from the appropriate staff offices, to make sure that planning was adequate and that not too many events were occurring in the same general location at one time. Large-scale events required initial clearance by the appropriate staff office with final clearance by the Dean of Students. The number of large events was restricted and careful planning and execution of the events were required. Sale events of any size (usually medium- or large-scale) required a special license, noted above, which generally meant the application needed to be submitted a minimum of 2 weeks before the event. Since larger events required more rigid planning and clearance, party planners were discouraged from artificially overestimating the size of the event.

- General planning guidelines. General rules and regulations applying to all parties included: the focus of the event must not be solely on drinking; the name of the event cannot include the name of an alcoholic beverage or brand; planners must read a prepared pamphlet outlining the steps that must be taken; ways to insure safe occupancy of the party space must be planned; advertising must be largely restricted to on-campus media and has to mention the availability of nonalcoholic beverages and to discourage the presence of bottles and cans; security plans must be adequate, using trained student monitors for most events with back-up by trained campus police for medium- and large-scale events; bartenders for larger events must be trained and supervised using special pamphlets and educational sessions; cleanup after an event is the responsibility of the planners.
- Alcoholic beverage guidelines. Limits on the service of alcoholic beverages were outlined for all parties, including: a maximum of 4 hours serving time of alcoholic beverages at any given event; limits on how late alcoholic beverages could be served, according to town regulations; alcohol purchased for the event must be limited to 1 keg (one-half barrel or 165 12-ounce servings) per 40 persons attending the event, or the equivalent in wine or distilled beverages; a requirement that at least 20 percent of the refreshment budget be allocated

for food and for at least three nonalcoholic beverages; and specifications about the use of nonbreakable containers and sanitary serving utensils.

- Additional regulations for medium- and large-scale events. Planners of both medium- and large-scale events were required to submit a "statement of purpose" for the event, including how alcoholic beverages would be served, any anticipated profits and how they would be used, and how admission and age identification would be accomplished. Sale of alcoholic beverages for large profits was discouraged. In addition, for large-scale events, at least one of the planners and all of the bartenders were required to attend a 2-hour training session on conducting a safe party. Large-scale events also required the sponsors to place 10 percent of their budget in escrow with the Student Activities Office, to cover any damages or cleanup costs. Unused escrow money would be returned to the sponsors after the event.
- Conducting and evaluating the event. Responsibilities were included for party sponsors and staff who approved the events. Suggestions were given for ways parties could be "shut-down," and the referral of violations of the rules and regulations to the student judiciary process were detailed. Finally, responsibility for evaluation of events and the content of such evaluations were included.
- Responsibility and liability. The regulations clearly stated that party planners bore the major responsibility for the conduct of each event, especially the two students required to sign clearance forms. Although adherence to the campus policy could not make anyone even remotely connected with the event immune from potential civil lawsuits, it was emphasized that adherence would make the likelihood of eventual conviction highly improbable.

The revised rules and regulations went into effect September 1, 1978. In general, the response has been quite favorable. Students recognized that the intent of the detailed regulations was to increase student safety without unnecessarily restricting their enjoyment at parties. Residence hall staff felt better prepared to judge whether a party had been planned and conducted in an adequate fashion. Disciplinary staff had reasonable, enforceable regulations to which they could refer.

One complication arose that threatened to undo some of the desired changes the new policy began to achieve, namely the sudden raising of the legal drinking age in Massachusetts from 18 to 20 in April 1979. However, it seems that the rules still hold in some of the on-campus residence halls, especially the features that encourage adequate party planning and training of party staff. The policy also has helped lead to a general revision of campus disciplinary policies during the past year, a revision that has been needed for close to a decade.

The revised alcohol beverage policy, as one way to achieve DAEP goals, attempts to modify certain contextual and environmental elements in campus parties. The long-term effect of such modifications awaits further evaluation.

Campus Pub

The on-campus pub, the Bluewall, has served as a focus for DAEP efforts since the Project's beginning. Unfortunately, efforts to bring about changes at the Bluewall have not been as successful as have those in the area of party planning.

Project efforts initially involved discussions with the major pub administrator, gaining his approval for trying to make the Bluewall a "model" for "responsible drinking." He and his staff agreed with the need to serve and post the prices of nonalcoholic beverages, and other such alterations. Unfortunately, economic pressures require the Bluewall's management to make a profit from alcoholic beverage sales, and the management is therefore reluctant to put into effect any alterations that would lower such sales. Three changes in the key administrator in less than 2 years also made most of DAEP efforts relatively ineffective. Planned inservice training for bartenders was never scheduled. Signs for nonalcoholic beverages and food were posted only some of the time (the signs seemed always to be out for "repainting"). And the noisy, tense atmosphere of the Bluewall was never modified. One positive change was the addition of popcorn and sandwiches in the evenings, so that people could consume something besides alcoholic beverages.

Whether the effects of DAEP persuasive efforts alone would have worked will never be known. However, the change in legal drinking age has led to an increased effort to alter Bluewall features in a desired direction. The age change effectively destroyed the Bluewall's usual clientele—underclass persons living in the residence halls are now underage. The Bluewall has now begun making alterations to attract underage students and has asked for DAEP assistance in those efforts.

In retrospect, DAEP efforts probably could not have succeeded unless the profit motive for the operation were somehow altered and/or the top administration remained stable and sympathetic. However, Project staff also could have spent more time than they did working with the various pub managers. At other campuses or in other settings the use of the pub to modify drinking behaviors awaits a better attempt than DAEP staff could muster.

Discussion

This study examined some of the public drinking practices of college students and the implications of these practices for prevention programs, especially focusing on parties and campus bars. Although many of the characteristics of present-day college drinking patterns seem unchanged from 30 years ago, when Straus and Bacon (1953) conducted their survey, the openness of drinking behavior on college campuses today compared with 1949 is striking (USDHEW, 1976). While frustrating in many ways, the open drinking also offers the opportunity for prevention programs to develop effective ways of altering the environmental situation without encouraging students to leave the campus for town taverns (Kraft 1979).

Drinking patterns of college students reported in this study seem consistent with those reported by Blane and Hewitt (1977). The proportion of students who drink at least occasionally (92 percent) is consistent with many recent studies, with only a slightly higher proportion of men drinking (93 percent) than women (92 percent). In addition, data showing that about two-thirds of students drink beer at least once a month, including 39 percent who drink at least once a week, are consistent with Blane's findings. The fact that 47 percent of students got drunk one or more times in the month prior to the survey is also consistent with recent college survey results reviewed by Blane, where 55 percent of students reported being intoxicated during the period prior to the survey.

Reports on drinking contexts are more difficult to find. However, the frequency of party and bar drinking in the present report is certainly consistent with the original findings of Straus and Bacon (1953) and many others. Few examples are available of the result of attempts to influence drinking behaviors of college students through large-scale manipulations of contextual variables, such as enforceable party-planning guidelines.

The author, who planned and implemented the program, hopes he has done justice to the data and has increased the knowledge of those who need to be aware of college drinking practices. Perhaps some time in the future he will be able to report with more certainty which environmental manipulations effectively alter drinking behaviors and which do not.

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Afternoon Dances: Drinking Contexts for Women

Elina Haavio-Mannila

In Finland, eating and drinking outside the home, in restaurants, has traditionally been the prerogative of men; women have seldom gone to restaurants. In 1976, one-third of all visits to Finnish restaurants, including those for the consumption of alcoholic beverages, were made by women. On the average, women in Finland visited restaurants and had drinks there 6 times a year while men made 12 such visits. In Helsinki, the capital, the sex difference was even larger: women made 8.5 visits per year, men 22.7 (Ylönen 1979). As shown in table 1, sex differences were larger among married and older persons than among the nonmarried and young.

Dancing is a way to entice Finnish women into restaurants. According to a national restaurant survey in 1968, only 10 to 15 percent of restaurant customers on nondancing nights were women; when there was dancing, the proportion rose to 30 to 40 percent (Partanen 1969, p. 41). But even though having dancing increases the proportion of women in the restaurant clientele, women are still a clear minority. The lower participation of women than men in restaurant life

Table 1. Estimation of Restaurant Visits (Finland, 1976) During which Alcoholic Beverages Were Consumed, by Sex

	Average Number of Visits Per Year			
	Women	Men	Difference	W/M
Total	5.7	12.2	−6.5	.47 .49
Towns and cities	7.0	16.1	−9.1	.43 .43
Other boroughs	3.6	7.2	−3.6	.50 .50
Married	3.0	8.3	−5.3	.36 .38
Not married	9.6	19.9	−10.3	.48 .48
Under 30 years of age	11.9	20.9	−9.0	.57 .57
30 years and over	2.6	7.9	−5.3	.33 .33
Total number of visits in the whole population	9.8 million	20.1 million		

Source: Ylönen 1979.

also can be seen in survey results from 1977: 63 percent of Finnish men but only 50 percent of women aged 15 and over had frequented dance restaurants during the 12 months preceding the interview (see table 2). More men than women had also visited other restaurants and public dances.

The "masculine" character of visits to dances and restaurants as a leisure activity is related to a general sex differentiation in leisure-time use. Men frequent dances and restaurants, participate in sports, and go to the cinema, while women enjoy dance and theater performances and attend religious events (see table 2; only some selected leisure-time activities, related in some way to restaurant dancing, have been included). This sex difference partly explains the emergence of the different leisure-use factors found in several studies (e.g., Eskola 1976, p. 57; Uusitalo 1979, pp. 97, 107). In a survey made in Helsinki in 1978 by Langinvainio, Niemi, and Upanne, the first leisure-time-use factor was composed of visiting restaurants and/or dances (factor loading .63), cinema (.58), jogging or participating in sports (.52), watching athletic contests (.32), and attending religious events (−.32). The second factor included attending theaters or concerts (.53), making handicrafts or gardening (.42), attending religious events (.44), independent studying (.41), and participating in voluntary organizations (.39). The first factor is composed of male entertainments and excludes religious activities, the second consists of leisure-time pursuits characteristic of women.

Table 2. Participation in Some Leisure-Time Activities During 12 Months in Finland in 1976–77, by Sex (in percent)

Leisure-Time Activity	Women	Men	Difference	W/M
Frequented public dances	29	42	−13	.69
Frequented dance restaurants	50	63	−13	.79
Frequented other restaurants	39	50	−11	.80
Participated in athletic contests	4	15	−11	.27
Went to see				
athletic contests	31	54	−23	.57
cinema	48	53	−5	.91
theater	59	41	+18	1.43
folk dance performances	19	13	+6	1.48
classical or jazz ballet	3	2	+1	1.50
other dance performances	5	4	+1	1.25
religious events and festivals	24	15	+9	1.80
Attended church or devotional service	75	64	+11	1.17

Source: Statistical surveys 60, Cultural Statistics by Central Statistical Office of Finland, Helsinki, 1978, pp. 185–205.

The emancipation of women in education, work occupations, and politics seems to be leading to an abandonment of traditional sex roles in leisure-time activities. In particular, women are consuming more alcohol and visiting restaurants more frequently. While, in 1969, more than a third (35 percent) of all Finnish women never partook of alcohol, this proportion had dropped to one-fifth by 1976. No change in men's teetotaling rate could be seen between these years: 9 percent of men did not drink any alcohol (Simpura 1978*a*, pp. 119-120). In addition, on the basis of survey data, it has been estimated that the number of weekly drinking situations among women increased from 848,000 in 1969 to 996,000 in 1976. This was almost totally due to an increase in restaurant drinking. While, in 1969, Finnish women consumed alcohol in restaurants 92,000 times a week, they did so 238,000 times in 1976. The number of drinking occasions at home did not change (it was 668,000 in 1969 and 667,000 in 1976), and drinking at other places increased only slightly (from 88,000 to 91,000). During the same period, the number of drinking situations of men at restaurants increased only slightly (from 466,000 to 482,000), and the total number of drinking occasions of men decreased from 2,076,000 to 2,035,000. Of all the consumption of pure (100 percent) alcohol by women, 16 percent took place in restaurants in 1969 whereas in 1976 the figure was 32 percent. For men, the percentages were 25 and 23, respectively (Simpura 1978*b*, p. 117). Thus, more women have begun to drink alcoholic beverages, and women's drinking more often takes place in licensed restaurants or bars.

This marked increase in alcohol consumption by women in restaurants probably is related to an increase in the number of restaurants, especially dance restaurants. Whereas 10 years ago there were fewer than a thousand licensed restaurants in Finland, there were 1,510 at the end of 1978. It is estimated that about half of these restaurants arrange dancing. In addition, a new institution has emerged during the last 10 years, the so-called afternoon or day dances that offer a new drinking context for women.

Problems and Methods of Study

To investigate the new social phenomenon of afternoon dances, we received a grant from the Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies in the autumn of 1977 and have, since then, conducted this study. This discussion presents only some aspects of the total study. The study attempted to answer the following questions: What kinds of people attend afternoon dances? What motivates people to attend? What

social factors are behind this phenomenon? What proportion do afternoon dances represent of all occasions in which alcohol is consumed, and how is alcohol used at afternoon dances?

At first we planned to collect data only through participant observation in Helsinki. This method turned out to be too limited in view of the objectives of the study, and restricting the study to Helsinki could not give an answer to the last question presented above. We thus decided to collect material from other localities and with other means.

We chose from Helsinki four restaurants as our main research sites: two restaurants belonging to the lower price group from the working-class area (Kallio), and two restaurants in the higher price group from the center of the city. In the spring of 1978, all clients visiting afternoon dances during one day were asked to fill in a questionnaire in these four restaurants. Our questions were answered by 630 customers (a response rate of approximately 90 percent).

Waiters in these four restaurants were asked to collect data, with the help of a questionnaire, on orders made by afternoon dancers at certain tables belonging to their stations. In this way we gathered information on 175 clients on arrival and departure times and on such other variables as the delivery time of patrons' orders.

Local directors of the State Alcohol Monopoly (Alko) were asked to explore the number of restaurants arranging afternoon dances (dances starting before 6 p.m.) in their districts and to collect data on them with the help of a questionnaire.

Dancing itself was not forgotten. During the research period we attended afternoon dances in Helsinki, and, on the basis of these visits, about 80 reports have been written. Altogether, 20 persons participated in this observation; half the reports were written by the two authors.

This discussion first examines some results of the main study—the rise and spread of the institution of afternoon dances, some characteristics of the dancers, and their motives for attending. The discussion then focuses on drinking at afternoon dances, particularly on sex differences and drinking. Starting with the above-mentioned results concerning the rapid increase of drinking at restaurants by women in the 1970s, we tried to find out the role afternoon dances have played in this process. Is this new institution particularly popular among women? Are women persuaded to consume alcoholic beverages in situations where they are present for reasons other than to drink? How much do they drink in the context of afternoon dances?

Growth of the Afternoon Dance Institution

According to the information collected by the local directors of Alko, the first afternoon dances were arranged in 1954 in Pori, a middle-sized town in western Finland. In 1967, there were still only 10 restaurants where dancing began before 6 p.m. From 1968 onward, the number of such restaurants increased rapidly (Haavio-Mannila and Snicker 1980*a*, *b*; Snicker 1979), and, in September 1978, a total of 162 restaurants were reported as arranging afternoon dances at least once a month. A majority (90 percent) arranged afternoon dances at least once a week, but only 12 percent had dancing before 6 p.m. every day. The most popular day was Sunday, when 105 restaurants had day dancing; the least popular was Friday, when only 34 restaurants arranged it. From Tuesday to Thursday, the number was 46 to 50; on Mondays and Saturdays, 37.

Dancing usually starts between noon and 3 p.m., but, particularly in the center of Helsinki, a number of restaurants start playing dance music between 4 and 4:30 p.m., that is, after the normal working day. The last waltz is played at 8 p.m. at the latest. However, a large proportion of customers stay for the evening dances, which begin after a pause in music. There is no clear change in the clientele between afternoon and evening dances.

A somewhat larger percentage of afternoon dance restaurants (72 percent) belong to the lower price class than do all Finnish restaurants (66 percent). On the average, afternoon dance restaurants are larger and have more places for customers (214) than do all restaurants (180). Of the total sales, food in afternoon dance restaurants represents only 24 percent, while the average in all restaurants is 33 percent. Most (98 percent) of the restaurants arranging afternoon dancing are fully licensed; however, 15 percent of all restaurants have so-called "B-rights," which permit sales of only wine and beer.

Restaurants arranging afternoon dances are owned by cooperative firms more often (55 percent) than is the case among all restaurants in Finland (33 percent). Only 30 percent of them are privately owned, while private restaurants comprise 41 percent of all restaurants. Most afternoon dance restaurants can be classified as "entertainment" (62 percent) or "general" restaurants (27 percent), but there are also some pub-type restaurants among them.

The geographical distribution of afternoon dancing is not even. In eastern Finland there are more restaurants arranging this kind of entertainment and more people per population participating in it

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than in western Finland, where alcohol consumption is lower, there are more active religious movements, and there is more violence (Haavio 1963; Haavio-Mannila 1968; Verkko 1949; Ylikangas 1973). In western Finland there is more social pressure to conform (Riihinen 1965) than in eastern Finland, where a softer moral climate prevails, taking its expression in liberal political attitudes (Jutikkala 1958), women's liberation (Haavio-Mannila 1968), and, according to our results, in "loving" types of behavior at afternoon dances.

In Helsinki, restaurants arranging afternoon dancing are situated either in the business center or in the working-class area. Restaurants in the residential areas of the upper and middle classes seem to avoid afternoon dancing.

The yearly estimate in 1978 for visits to afternoon dances was 1.8 million in a country with 4.5 million inhabitants. Alcohol was consumed during approximately 1,450,000 visits. This means that afternoon dances constitute 5 percent of all restaurant visits during which alcohol is consumed. Of all drinking occasions in one year for the population aged 15 to 69 years (Simpura 1978*b*), those taking place at afternoon dances comprise 1 percent.

Clientele of Afternoon Dances

According to estimates made by the restaurants arranging afternoon dances (reported by the local directors of Alko), more women attend afternoon dances than attend evening dances (table 3). Day dances are social situations that particularly attract female customers. According to our observations in three restaurants in Helsinki, the proportion of women among those arriving before 6 p.m. varied; in two restaurants it was 36 to 37 percent, in a third, 60 percent. There was a tendency toward equal numbers of men and women: In restaurants where women were in the minority they did not leave as early as from those where they were in the majority. In the four restaurants where the clients themselves filled in our questionnaires, women

Table 3. Sex Structure of Afternoon and Evening Dancers in Restaurants Arranging Afternoon Dancing in Finland in September 1978 (in Percent)

Sex Structure	Afternoon Dances	Evening Dances
Female-dominated	29	13
As many men as women	53	58
Male-dominated	18	29
Number of dancers	159	156

comprised, on the average, 43 percent of the customers, the range being 39 to 49 percent in the different restaurants. According to the data collected by waiters, women represented 49 percent of the clientele, ranging from 39 to 62 percent in the four restaurants studied. Compared with all visits to Finnish restaurants during which alcohol was consumed, the proportion of women among visitors to afternoon dances seems to be higher (one-third of all visits to restaurants with alcohol usage were made by women, Ylönen 1979).

Afternoon dances are not actually "singles dances" (see Berk 1970): A majority (74 percent) of men and almost half the women (42 percent) in the four restaurants studied in Helsinki were married. Compared with the total population in Helsinki and in the whole country, men were more often and women less often married (table 4). Every fifth afternoon dancer was living alone (16 percent of men, 23 percent of women). The proportion of those living alone was larger than in

Table 4. Marital Status of Afternoon Dancers in Four Restaurants in Helsinki and in Finland (Population 20 Years of Age and Over), by Sex (in Percent)

	Men			Women		
Marital Status	Afternoon Dancers 1978	Helsinki 1976	Finland 1976	Afternoon Dancers 1978	Helsinki 1976	Finland 1976
Unmarried	8	27	26	25	29	20
Cohabiting	5			5		
Married	74	64	67	42	48	60
Divorced	12	7	4	23	9	5
Widowed	1	3	3	5	14	15
Number of dancers	356			274		

the whole country but smaller than in Helsinki. Afternoon dances, therefore, are not a gathering place of isolated, lonely persons, as is often assumed. Compared with some American restaurant and tavern studies (Cavan 1966; Clark 1966; Richards 1964; Roebuck and Spray 1967; Roebuck and Frese 1976), the proportion of married women is relatively high. In any case, one must pay attention to the fact that there is a clear surplus of divorced persons of both sexes, especially women, among afternoon dancers in Helsinki.

The age structure of the patronage of afternoon dances for the whole country is presented in table 5. Afternoon dancers were older than people attending evening dances in the same restaurants. The institution of afternoon dancing seems to be best suited to meet the needs of the adult population—young people prefer to dance in the

Table 5. Age Structure of Afternoon and Evening Dancers at Restaurants Arranging Afternoon Dancing in Finland in 1978 and in the Whole Country in 1976 (in Percent)

Age Structure	Afternoon Dancers	Evening Dancers	Population (Aged 20 Years and Over)[1]
20–29	16	42	26
30–59	52	48	52
60+	32	10	22
Number of dancers	159	156	

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1977, p. 40.
[1] 3.3 million.

evenings. In the four restaurants studied in Helsinki, there were, on the average, fewer old but more middle-aged people than in the whole country; only 4 percent were 60 years and over, 80 percent were between 30 and 59 years, and 16 percent were under 30 years of age. Men were slightly older (39 years) than women (35 years). In the center city restaurants, men were about 5 years older than women, while in the working-class-area restaurants women were 2 or 3 years older than men.

Most of the day dancers of both sexes in the four Helsinki restaurants were economically active (87 percent). A majority (69 percent) were white-collar workers, women more often than men (75 versus 66 percent). The social stratum of the men was higher than that of the women and than that of all men aged 20 and over in Helsinki and in the whole country. The social status of the female afternoon dancers was lower than that of the working wives of men attending these dances, but it roughly corresponded to that of all women in Helsinki and to women in the whole country (table 6).

Motives for Attending Afternoon Dances

Dancing was the most common reason mentioned for attending afternoon dances (out of 20 options in the questionnaire filled in by 630 customers in Helsinki); 54 percent of the women and 31 percent of the men gave it as a reason for coming. Every fourth woman and 8 percent of the men did not mark any other reasons for coming. Having fun, cheering up, and killing time were the next most popular motives; they were mentioned by 33, 18, and 13 percent, respectively. Chatting with persons of the opposite sex was mentioned by 11 percent of the respondents, chatting with those of one's own sex by 8 percent. Thirteen percent of men but only 1 percent of women said

Table 6. Social Stratum of Afternoon Dancers in Four Restaurants in Helsinki in 1978, and of Population Aged 20 Years and Over in Helsinki and Finland in 1976, by Sex (in Percent)

Social Stratum	Afternoon Dancers	Helsinki*	Finland*
		Men	
I (high)	30	20	10
II	40	24	23
III	17	32	44
IV (low)	3	5	9
No information	10	19	14
	356	161,323	1,552,234
		Women	
I	8	11	7
II	39	43	33
III	34	14	27
IV	7	8	11
No information	12	24	23
	274	218,371	1,740,310

*Source: Central Statistical Office of Finland, Ammatti-ja elink keinotutkimus, 1976, Working Table 205.

they were looking for a temporary sexual partner. The expectation of finding a permanent friend of the opposite sex was mentioned by 3 percent of both men and women. Afternoon dances were, therefore, mainly attended for the social interaction and pleasure available at the time, not in order to form sexual or friendly relationships that would continue after the dancing.

Afternoon dances functioned as a "home territory" (see Cavan 1966) for only 4 percent of the respondents—those who came "to meet acquaintances who always come to this restaurant." This motive for attendance was most often mentioned in the two restaurants in the working-class area, not in restaurants in the center of the city. In the city center restaurants there were, on the other hand, more people who attended afternoon dances because they had been invited by somebody or because they wanted to discuss organizational or business matters (these reasons were mentioned by 5 and 6 percent of the respondents, respectively). More men than women came for negotiations (10 versus 1 percent). Meeting acquaintances who regularly attend a restaurant, being invited by somebody, and negotiating are reasons for coming that presuppose that afternoon dances are used as a meeting place for old acquaintances. These motives were mentioned by only some of the afternoon dancers. Most of the dancers are looking for social interaction with persons whom they do not know beforehand. This interaction is accomplished through dancing and by

chatting at the tables, where people are often seated in the company of unknown customers. Such seating arrangements are common when people come alone or in small same-sex groups (see table 7).

Restaurants do not, however, offer dancing possibilities totally without charge. Even though in only one of four Helsinki restaurants surveyed did one have to buy a ticket to get in (the ticket provided for a coffee, sandwich, or fruit cocktail), it was taken for granted that people would use the paid services of the restaurant; that is, they would order food and/or drinks. Eating and drinking were, however, seldom mentioned as reasons for coming. Men came more often than women in order to eat (13 versus 4 percent) and to drink alcoholic beverages (14 versus 9 percent). Most of those who came to drink only wanted a glass or two. Getting drunk was mentioned as a reason for coming by only 4 percent of the men and 1 percent of the women. Paying for or entertaining others at afternoon dances was not common; 4 percent came in order to be treated by others (5 percent of the men and 4 percent of the women) and 2 percent to treat others (3 percent of the men and none of the women).

On the basis of a factor analysis, motives for attending afternoon dances were divided into five groups: social interaction (dancing, chatting, having fun); eating and entertaining others; drinking; looking for sexual relationships; and meeting acquaintances who regularly visit the restaurant. (Drinking and looking for sexual relationships loaded on the same factor, but they are separated here because of their independent content.)

Table 7. Company at Arrival in Afternoon Dances in Four Helsinki Restaurants in 1978, by Sex (in Percent)

Came to Afternoon Dances	Men	Women	Total
Alone	43	17	31
With work mates	40	45	42
With other acquaintances	16	33	24
With relatives	1	5	3
Number of respondents	348	268	616
Sex structure of the company			
Alone	42	17	31
With one woman	3	42	20
With several women	4	24	13
With one man	16	5	11
With several men	24	1	14
In mixed-sex company	11	11	11
Number of respondents	342	266	608

Social interaction was by far the most often-mentioned motive for attending afternoon dances (table 8). Women mentioned it more often than men and indicated fewer other motives for coming than men. Men intended to use restaurants' paid services to a greater extent than did women, and they were looking for casual sexual affairs much more frequently.

Table 8. Motives for Attending Afternoon Dances in Four Helsinki Restaurants in 1978, by Sex (in Percent)

Motives	Men	Women	Total
Social interaction at the dance	53	70	60
Eating and entertaining others	19	6	14
Drinking	14	9	12
Sexual expectation	15	4	10
Meeting acquaintances	5	3	4
Total percent[1]	106	92	100
Number of respondents	356	274	630

[1] All percentages do not add up to 100 because these reasons for coming have been selected from among the 20 possible ones which could have been marked by the respondents. On the average, men gave 2.0, women 1.8 motives for attending.

Eating and Drinking at Afternoon Dances

Only 9 percent of the respondents to our questionnaire mentioned food as a reason for attending afternoon dances, but every third customer ordered something to eat, according to data collected by the waiters. This discrepancy partly, but probably not totally, may be due to the fact that our data are derived from two different samples. It is possible that people order something to eat even though they do not give eating as a motive for coming. Fewer women than men reported that they intended to eat. In practice, there was almost no difference in the proportion of men and women eating at afternoon dances (table 9). In the two city center restaurants women ate more often than men; in the two restaurants in the working-class area they ate just as often as men. Eating was more common in the restaurants in the city center than in the working-class area.

Only a small minority mentioned drinking as a reason for attending afternoon dances. According to replies by the same persons, 50 percent always order alcoholic beverages and 24 percent almost always do so. Seven percent said they never consume alcohol at afternoon dances, and 19 percent said they do sometimes. There were no

Table 9. Proportion of Afternoon Dancers (in Percent) Who Ordered Food in Four Helsinki Restaurants in 1978, by Sex and Type of Restaurant (Data Collected by Waiters)

Type of Restaurant	Men %	Men *N*	Women %	Women *N*	Total %	Total *N*
Restaurant in City Center (2)	36	(47)	48	(31)	41	(78)
Restaurant in working-class area (2)	26	(42)	27	(55)	27	(97)
Total	31	(89)	35	(86)	33	(175)

sex differences in this respect. For 14 percent of afternoon dancers of both sexes, afternoon dances are the only occasion when they drink alcoholic beverages. However, 82 percent also drink in other situations, while 4 percent never consume alcohol.

The impressions of the local directors of Alko were that drinking at afternoon dances is less excessive than at evening dances (less excessive in 70 percent, similar in 28 percent, and more excessive in 2 percent of the restaurants). According to the same source of information, alcohol is ordered in four out of five visits to afternoon dances. This roughly corresponds to the 74 percent of respondents in four restaurants in Helsinki who said that they always or almost always order alcoholic beverages at afternoon dances.

A majority (77 percent) of afternoon dancers refrained from drinking a great deal at these dances (table 10). The most commonly mentioned reason for avoiding excessive drinking was an inner moral

Table 10. Obstacles to Heavy Drinking at Afternoon Dances in Four Helsinki Restaurants in 1978, by Sex (in Percent)

Does Something Prevent You From Drinking a Great Deal at These Afternoon Dances?	Men	Women	Total
No	26	18	23
Heavy drinking is not my habit	23	40	30
Hard working day tomorrow	15	12	14
Have to go to work from here	4	4	4
Driving	12	2	8
Meeting people at home after this	5	8	6
Too expensive	4	9	6
Does not suit the daytime	3	1	2
Other reasons	8	6	7
Number of respondents	340	261	601

norm: "Heavy drinking is not my habit." This restraint was mentioned more often by women than by men. Men had fewer restraints against drinking than women; 26 percent of the men but only 18 percent of the women said that nothing prevents them from drinking a great deal. Men were more often than women prevented from drinking by work and driving, while women were checked by meeting people at home afterwards and by the expensiveness of drinks.

How much did the customers actually drink while attending afternoon dances? Tables 11 and 12 show the number of drinks ordered and the amount of alcohol included in them. Table 12 also presents data on the length of stay at the restaurant, the intervals between

Table 11. Percent of Drinking Orders in Four Helsinki Restaurants During Afternoon Dances, by Sex (Data Collected by Waiters)

Number of Orders	Men	Women	Total
One	13	28	20
Two or three	36	50	43
Four or five	24	15	20
Six or seven	13	7	10
Eight or nine	7	—	4
Ten or more	7	—	3
Number of drinkers	78	72	150

Table 12. Alcohol Consumption at Afternoon Dances in Four Helsinki Restaurants in 1978, by Sex (*N* = Number of Customers Observed by the Waiters)

	Men	(*N*)	Women	(*N*)	Total	(*N*)
Average number of drinks	4.2	(78)	2.5	(71)	3.4	(149)
Amount of 100% alcohol, cl.	7.5		4.8		6.2	
Length of stay in restaurant, hours and minutes	3'24"	(68)	3'12"	(53)	3'19"	(121)
Length of time between first and last order of alcohol, hours and minutes	2'38"	(78)	2'09"	(71)	2'15"	(149)
Interval between drink orders, minutes	43		61		51	
Amount of 100% alcohol per hour, cl[1]	2.2		1.5		1.9	
Blood alcohol, per thousand[2]	0.7		0.4		0.6	

[1] Length of drinking situation = time between first and last order of alcoholic beverages plus average interval between drink orders.

[2] Calculated on the basis of the following formula:

$$\text{Blood alcohol per thousand} = \frac{\text{Grams of 100\% alcohol consumed} - 7 \times \text{length of drinking situation in hours}}{\text{Body weight} \times 0.68}$$

(Bruun 1968, p. 180)

orders, and the amount of alcohol consumed per hour, as well as the proportion of alcohol in the blood during the stay.

Most afternoon dancers ordered, at most, three drinks during their stay of 3 hours 19 minutes in the four Helsinki restaurants studied. On the average, men ordered 4.2 drinks, women 2.5. The interval between drinks was 61 minutes for women and 43 for men. On the average, customers did not drink to the point of intoxication (the blood alcohol level for men during the afternoon dances was 0.7 and for women 0.4 based on an average weight of 75 kg for men and 64 kg for women.)

Hard liquors (vodka, whisky, gin, brandy, etc.) were the most often used alcoholic beverages at afternoon dances (table 13). Sixty-one percent of the customers observed by the waiters in four restaurants in Helsinki ordered only strong drinks. In addition, 24 percent included them in their total drinking schedule. Altogether, 83 percent of the customers drank some hard liquor. Strong drinks were used more in the restaurants in the working-class area than in the restaurants in the center of the city. Sex differences were relatively small. In the restaurants in the center of the city 14 percent of the women ordered only wine, while no men ordered only wine.

It has been assumed that people who eat in restaurants do not drink as much as those who only order alcoholic beverages. As table 14 shows, this is not the case at afternoon dances. Those persons, both men and women, who ordered food consumed more alcohol (on the average 7.6 cl) than those who did not eat (5.6 cl). The alcohol policymakers who try to limit alcohol consumption in restaurants by encouraging eating do not achieve their intended goal. But, for the clients, drinking while eating is not as much of a health threat as is drinking on an empty stomach.

At Finnish afternoon dances, sex roles in invitations to dance often are changed. In three of the four restaurants studied, there were days

Table 13. Kinds of Drinks Ordered in Four Helsinki Restaurants in 1978, by Type of Restaurant and Sex (in Percent)

Kinds of drinks	Restaurants in City Center			Restaurants in working-class area			Total
	Men	Women	All	Men	Women	All	
Beer only	14	10	13	5	14	10	11
Wine only	—	14	6	—	5	3	4
Strong liquors only	59	45	53	70	65	67	61
Several kinds of drinks	27	31	28	25	16	20	24
Number of drinkers	78	72	150	36	43	79	229

Table 14. Amount of Pure Alcohol Consumed at Afternoon Dances in Four Helsinki Restaurants in 1978, by Food Consumption and Sex

Ordered Food	Men	Women	Total
	Alcohol consumption, cl.		
Yes	9.3 (24)	5.6 (21)	7.6 (45)
No	6.7 (54)	4.4 (50)	5.6 (104)
Total	7.5 (78)	4.8 (71)	6.2 (149)

Table 15. Alcohol Consumption According to Sex of Inviters to Dance in Four Helsinki Restaurants and Separately in Maestro at Afternoon Dances in 1978, by Sex

Sex of Inviters To Dance	Men	Women	Total
	Alcohol consumption, cl.		
Four restaurants			
Men invite	8.1 (25)	3.9 (30)	5.8 (55)
Mixed invitations	8.0 (22)	5.2 (12)	7.0 (34)
Women invite	6.8 (31)	5.5 (29)	6.2 (60)
	7.5 (78)	4.8 (71)	6.2 (149)
Maestro			
Mixed invitations	7.9 (16)	5.2 (12)	
Women invite	5.2 (9)	6.6 (7)	

or hours during which women had the right or duty to invite men to dance. Invitations to dance seem to demand courage, which can be achieved through drinking. When it was the women's turn to invite men to dance, women drank more and men less than when men initiated contact between the sexes (table 15). This rule seemed to prevail as much in all the four restaurants studied as in one of them for which data were collected for both mixed-invitation days (which, in practice, are days when men issue invitations) and women's invitation days.

People attending afternoon dances were, on the average, more inclined to drink alcohol than the total population of Finland (table 16). Women in particular drank alcohol more often (on the average 55 times a year) than did the total female population (26 times a year). The drinking habits of men attending afternoon dances did not deviate as much from the total population (they consumed alcohol 85 times a year, while the total male population drinks 61 times a year).

The men who completed the questionnaire attended afternoon dances 29 times a year, while the women surveyed attended 22 times a year (table 17). About four-fifths of the respondents consumed

Table 16. Frequency of Alcohol Consumption in the Total Finnish Population in 1976, and Among Attendants of Afternoon Dances in Four Restaurants in Helsinki, in April 1978, by Sex (in Percent)[1]

Multiplier	Uses Alcohol	Men		Women	
		Total Pop. 15–69 Years 1976	Afternoon Dancers	Total Pop. 15–69 Years 1976	Afternoon Dancers
0	Never	9	4	20	3
0	Less than once a year	1	1	3	0
1.5	Once or twice a year	3	3	7	2
3.5	3–4 times a year	6	2	10	4
6	About once in two months	5	4	9	5
12	About once a month	9	8	12	9
24	A couple of times a month	18	14	16	27
52	Once a week	23	25	14	30
104	Twice a week	20	30	8	16
365	Daily	6	10	1	4
Average times per year[2]		60.8	85.4	25.5	55.1
N		1393	350	1442	269

[1] Source for data on total population: Simpura 1978a, 119–120.
[2] Estimated by multiplying with figures on the left.

Table 17. Frequency of Visits to Afternoon Dances of Clients in Four Restaurants in Helsinki, in 1978, by Sex (in Percent)

Frequency of Afternoon Dance Attendance	Men	Women	Total
First time	10	9	10
Less than once a year	13	8	11
Once or twice a year	13	13	13
3–4 times a year	11	20	15
About once in two months	8	9	9
About once a month	12	10	12
A couple of times a month	13	16	14
Once a week	9	7	8
Twice a week	7	4	6
Every day	3	2	2
Average number of times per year[1]	28.5	21.6	23.8
Times with alcohol[2]	20.6	16.6	17.9
Number of	349	265	614

[1] Estimated by using multipliers presented in table 15.
[2] Estimated by multiplying average times per year by percentages of afternoon dances in which alcohol is always or almost always used (men 72.2 percent, women 76.8 percent, total 74.2 percent of all afternoon dance visits).

alcohol at afternoon dances always or almost always. Thus, one can estimate that male afternoon dancers drink 21 times and women dancers 17 times a year at afternoon dances. The proportion of afternoon dances as drinking contexts among men was 24 percent and among women 30 percent of all drinking situations during a year. As mentioned above, only 1 percent of all drinking occasions in Finland take place at afternoon dances. But for those who frequent afternoon dances in Helsinki, drinking in that context is a substantial part of their total drinking behavior. For women, especially, afternoon dances are an important context for drinking.

Conclusion

Afternoon dances offer a new drinking situation, particularly for women, who traditionally do not frequent restaurants as often as men. Women attending these dances in four restaurants studied in Helsinki were, in general, economically active, and two-fifths were married. However, women interacted with proportionally more married men in these social situations. Thus, these social events do not function as husband-finding opportunities—there are two unmarried women for each unmarried man. Nor is the main function of afternoon dances to arrange sexual relationships between men and women; almost none of the women claimed to be looking for a temporary sexual partner even though 13 percent of the men admitted they had these kinds of expectations. Afternoon dances function mainly as meeting places where one can, for a while, get rid of the grayness of everyday life through social interaction, particularly dancing.

Drinking for intoxication was not the intention of most of the afternoon dancers. On the average, neither men nor women exceeded the intoxication level of blood alcohol. Women attending these dances drink alcohol more often than the total female population. Afternoon dances may persuade them to consume more alcohol than they intend: Most of them come to afternoon dances to dance, have fun, and cheer up—not to drink. However, a majority of afternoon dancers of both sexes almost always consume alcoholic beverages during these social occasions.

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The Social Context of Drinking and Violence in New Zealand's Multi-Ethnic Pub Settings*

Theodore D. Graves, Nancy B. Graves, Vineta N. Semu, and Iulai Ah Sam

Running a city pub can be a bloody business . . .
. . . an Auckland city newspaper headline asserted.[1] The accompanying story recounted in lurid detail the damage to staff and facilities that had been caused by various incidents over the previous few weeks. Pub violence makes good copy, and similar accounts of drunken brawls in and around Auckland's 70 public bars appear regularly in the press. Unfortunately, many of these incidents involve Polynesians, both indigenous Maoris and Pacific Islands immigrants, thereby serving to reinforce a widespread belief among white New Zealanders that Polynesians can't hold their liquor. Echoing stereotypes held by Australians and North Americans about their own conquered indigenous groups, a propensity for drunken violence has come to be seen as an important aspect of Polynesian character (Graves and Graves 1974).

In support of this stereotype, New Zealanders can point to crime statistics that show that since the early 1950s convictions for crimes against persons, the vast majority of them alcohol-related, have been about eight times higher for Maoris and Pacific Islanders than for non-Polynesian New Zealanders. (Duncan 1972; Semu 1976; and Trlin 1968 provide a running commentary.) The validity of crime statistics as a basis for estimating the relative frequency of violent incidents among different ethnic groups is questionable, of course, given the

* The research reported in this paper was sponsored by the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, U.S. Public Health Service, under grants no. AA 03203-01, AA 03231-01 and o1s1, and was conducted under the auspices of the South Pacific Research Institute, Inc., Auckland, New Zealand. Parts of this report were presented at an Alcohol Research Conference sponsored by the Alcoholic Liquor Advisory Committee of the New Zealand government in Nelson, May 17, 1979, and in a symposium on Drinking and Violence at the New Zealand Psychological Society in Palmerston North, August 26, 1979.

[1] *Auckland Star*, 16 August 1976.

selective mechanisms by which arrests and conviction take place (Nixon 1974; Sutherland and Galbreath 1975). Depending on your values, the same statistics can be used as evidence for racism in the police and justice departments. This potentially explosive social and political issue, therefore, cries out for systematic and impartial investigation.

Polynesians constitute over 10 percent of New Zealand's population and are its most conspicuous and rapidly growing minority group. In many respects they have an impact on New Zealand life comparable to that of blacks in the United States. This is particularly true in the Auckland metropolitan area, the industrial heart of the nation, where most Pacific Islanders settle, and where rural Maoris have been migrating in growing numbers since World War II (Metge 1964; Pitt and Macpherson 1974). Between two-thirds and three-quarters of the Polynesian workers hold semiskilled or unskilled blue-collar positions as compared to less than one-third of the white New Zealanders (1976 census), and it is now estimated that they comprise one-third of the floor-level production workers in Auckland city (McDonald 1977). In many factories we have studied recently, they are in the majority (Graves and Graves 1977, 1980). As it struggles to create an egalitarian, multiracial, and multicultural society, New Zealand is experiencing in microcosm many problems plaguing larger western countries. It therefore provides an ideal natural laboratory for social research.

This discussion reports some of the results from two recent studies of drinking and violence in the Auckland metropolitan area conducted by an "insider-outsider" team of two Samoan and two American investigators. We believe these results are likely to find parallels wherever non-western groups, both indigenous and immigrant, are seeking a place within a modern urban-industrial society.

Study I. Systematic Observations of Public Drinking

Our first investigation was a systematic observational study of public drinking behavior conducted within 12 of Auckland's public bars. Its aim was twofold: to compare the actual alcohol consumption of indigenous Maoris, immigrant Pacific Islanders, and New Zealanders of European cultural heritage when drinking within the same public settings, and to attempt to assess the contextual factors that

are most predictive of consumption levels regardless of ethnic background. Public bars were chosen as the sites for our investigations because they are the most common drinking settings for workingmen of all three ethnic groups and because these three groups can be observed easily in the same settings, thereby controlling any influences from the physical environment.

The pubs were selected non-randomly to represent a wide range of typical settings throughout the area.[2] Four were selected from the central city region, five from surrounding areas of mixed residential and industrial sites, and three from outlying suburbs north, south, and west. One pub had a majority of European drinkers, two had a majority of Islands drinkers, and five had a majority of Maori drinkers. The remaining four had a more even mix. During Thursday, Friday and Saturday evenings, when our observations were conducted, the average number of drinkers ranged from about 50 to 170, though, of course, there was great variability during the course of the evenings. Densities ranged from under 1 to over 3 square meters per drinker.

Systematic observations of public drinking behavior are becoming increasingly common (Cutler and Storm 1975; Harford et al. 1976; Harrison et al. 1943; Kessler and Gomberg 1974; Plant et al 1977; Reid 1978; Rosenbluth et al. 1978; Sommer 1965), and appropriate procedures are now well established. But as far as we know, this is the first systematic observational study in multi-ethnic settings such as New Zealand affords.[3] Observations were conducted on three different evenings within each pub from 5 p.m. until closing, and each subject was observed from arrival until departure. Interobserver reliability was high: over 90 percent agreement on all variables recorded.[4] Our final sample consisted of 72 Maoris, 72 Islanders, and 72 Europeans.

[2] Pubs catering to unusual clientele such as transient sailors, tourists, and transvestites were excluded, as were pubs in sections of the city where there were few Polynesians.

[3] Semu (1976) conducted an observational study of public drinking as her master's thesis in psychology at Auckland University. The present study is an extension of her earlier work. Further procedural details are available in her thesis and in Graves et al. (n.d.).

[4] Observations of 27 subjects (9 from each ethnic group) were conducted simultaneously by both observers in three additional pubs. (Because the police were conducting a blitz on drunk driving during this period, these data have been excluded from the overall analysis.) The age of the drinker was estimated with 94.5 percent agreement, the number of glasses consumed with 94 percent agreement, and both time spent (in 5-minute intervals) and drinking group size were recorded at better than 99 percent agreement. This high level of interobserver agreement is similar to that reported by Kessler and Gomberg (1974) and by Plant et al. (1977).

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Ethnic Differences in Consumption and Context

Ethnic differences in the average time drinkers spent in the pub, the number of (7 oz.) glasses of beer they consumed,[5] and their rate of consumption are presented in table 1. Maoris and Islanders averaged almost two hours whereas Europeans averaged less than an hour and a quarter, and this European/Polynesian difference is highly significant statistically ($p<.0001$).[6] Maori drinkers consumed the most: an average of almost 13 glasses at a sitting, or about three standard quart bottles. Islanders were next with an average of over 10 glasses, and Europeans least with about 7½ glasses, or less than two standard bottles. All these ethnic differences were statistically significant (Maoris vs. Islanders, $p<.05$; Islanders vs. Europeans, $p<.01$; Maoris vs. Europeans, $p<.0001$). Ethnic differences in the rate of consumption, however, were far less dramatic. All groups averaged roughly 9 minutes per glass, though there is a statistically significant difference between the Maori and Islander rates. The European rate falls in-between, however, and is not significantly different from either Polynesian group.

Of particular interest to us were differences in the social context of drinking since we had reason to believe that this would afford us the

Table 1. Ethnic Variability in Drinking Behavior

	Maoris ($N = 72$)	Islanders ($N = 72$)	Europeans ($N = 72$)
Time spent in pub (minutes)			
mean	109	108	71
(S.D.)	(65)	(59)	(44)
Amount consumed (glasses)			
mean	12.7	10.1	7.5
(S.D.)	(8.1)	(6.2)	(5.0)
Rate of consumption (glasses per hour)			
mean	7.4	6.1	6.7
(S.D.)	(3.0)	(2.4)	(2.6)
Size of drinking group			
mean	5.9	4.5	3.5
(S.D.)	(3.5)	(2.8)	(2.1)

[5] A relatively insignificant amount of spirits was also consumed, averaging less than half an ounce per subject. To simplify presentation here, this has been added to the glasses of beer consumed at the rate of 1.17 glasses per nip of spirits (the alcohol equivalent in beer).

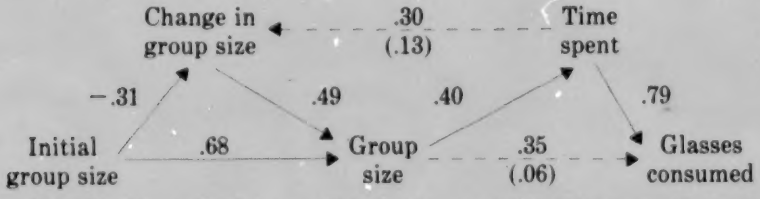
[6] Unless otherwise noted, all tests of statistical significance reported here are standard, two-tailed t tests. These tests should be regarded only as a conventional indication of the magnitude of the mean differences obtained, given their variability, and not as a substitute for scientific or social significance or as indicating the probability that our interpretation of the evidence is correct (see Morrison and Henkel 1970).

most meaningful explanation of the quantitative differences in consumption. The largest ethnic differences occurred in the size of a person's drinking group.[7] Group means are presented in table 1, and all are significantly different (Maoris vs. Islanders, $p<.05$; Islanders vs. Europeans, $p<.05$; Maoris vs. Europeans, $p<.001$). Another way of looking at these differences is to examine the proportion of drinkers who drink in different size groups. The majority of Maoris, for example, drink in relatively large groups of five or more persons, whereas only a quarter of Europeans do so. In fact, over 40 percent of the European drinkers drank either alone or with only one other person: what we have called an "exclusive" social drinking pattern. By contrast, only about 16 percent of the Polynesians drank in this "exclusive" manner (chi square = 16.0, $p<.001$). Clearly, most Polynesians are group drinkers whereas a significant proportion of Europeans avoid such group settings.

Study I documents a higher total alcohol consumption by Polynesian patrons than by European patrons of the same public bars. This consumption level is not the result of their drinking at a faster rate than Europeans, but because they remain in the pubs longer. Our task, therefore, has been to explain why Polynesian drinkers typically stay longer. We have detailed this issue elsewhere (Graves et al. n.d.). There are many cultural factors that help account for these differences, such as patterns of family life which make evening mealtime more flexible for Polynesians than for Europeans. But the major determinant of how long individuals remained in the pub, we discovered, was the size of their drinking group. This was equally true within all three ethnic groups, but since Polynesians typically drink in larger groups than Europeans, they also remained longer.

Determinants of Consumption

A causal model of this phenomenon is presented below. (The three ethnic replications are found in Graves et al. n.d.)



Note: Partial correlations controlling for "group size" and "time spent" are in parentheses.

[7] Obviously this could vary during the evening. We took the size of the group with which a drinker had spent the largest proportion of his time.

Note two things about this model. First, previous researchers have assumed that the common pattern of drinking in rounds accounted for the relationship they reported between group drinking and amount consumed (Cutler and Storm 1975; Harrison et al. 1943; Sommer 1965). Group drinking etiquette requires that everyone in the group buy at least one round, and that everyone try to buy as many rounds as everyone else in the group to remain even. Consequently, according to this rounds hypothesis, the more people there are in a group, the more rounds will be bought, and, therefore, the more alcohol each group member will consume. Furthermore, since drinking etiquette also requires that a group member not leave the group until he has bought his share of rounds and since the rate of consumption by all group members who drink in rounds is relatively similar and stable, the total time a person spends in the pub will be largely determined by the number of rounds consumed and only indirectly by the size of the person's drinking group. In formal terms:

Drinking group size ⟶ Glasses consumed (Rounds) ⟶ Time spent

Although the subjects from all three of our groups drank in rounds, in none of these groups did the rounds hypothesis fit the data. Elsewhere we have explored a number of alternative causal models (Graves et al. n.d.). But only the one presented here is consistent with the correlations we actually obtained. Clearly, the direction of causality between "amount consumed" and "time spent" is the reverse of that of the rounds hypothesis; namely, the amount of time spent in a pub determines the number of rounds that will be consumed, and time spent is directly determined by the number of drinking companions.[8] The pattern of correlations that supports this causal interpretation has been replicated not only within all three of our ethnic groups but independently by Cutler and Storm in Canada (1975) and by Harford in Boston (personal communication).

A second feature of this model, which has not been presented by previous researchers, is the negative association found within all three groups between "initial group size" (the number of people in a patron's drinking group at the time the patron consumed his first beer) and the number of persons who subsequently joined the group ("change in group size"). Apparently, many patrons have a certain

[8] For the "rounds hypothesis" to fit the data, the correlation between "group size" and "glasses consumed" would have to be larger than between "group size" and "time spent." The reverse is actually the case, and when "time spent" is controlled, the correlations between "group size" and "amount consumed" consistently drop close to zero within all three ethnic groups (see Graves et al. n.d.).

number of regular drinking companions whom they hope to see. If these friends are not all present when a drinker arrives, he waits, and they join him later. But the more of them who are present from the start, the fewer who subsequently join. This is contrary to the hypothesis that the longer a group member stays, the more people will join the group, a feedback model which could reverse the direction of causality between "group size" and "time spent" presented above. The actual feedback effect of "time spent" on "change in group size," however, is minimal, and drops to the nonsignificant level when the intervening effect of total drinking "group size" is controlled.

Study I suggests that alcohol consumption is a byproduct of the fact that public bars are commonly used as workingmen's social clubs, where they can relax with their friends. The more compelling these social ties, the longer a person remains in the setting. Social protocol, however, requires a person to participate in more rounds the longer he stays, and therefore to consume more alcohol. Polynesians are just as subject to this protocol as Europeans, but because their social needs are higher, their consumption rate is higher.

Study II. A Critical Incidents Study of Pub Violence

The aim of our second study was to collect a large pool of "critical incidents" (Flanagan 1954) of pub violence in order to examine factors associated with their frequency and seriousness. Because the rate of pub violence is actually far lower than the public may assume, it would have been far too costly and time-consuming to collect this sample by direct observation ourselves.[9] Consequently, to accomplish our purpose, 19 security officers working in 12 pubs experiencing above-average amounts of disorderly behavior were enlisted and trained to keep a systematic, running record of all incidents which came to their attention over a 3 week period.[10]

The following information was recorded for each incident: the time and place where it occurred; the age, sex, and ethnicity of the initiators; whether or not they were regular patrons; an estimate of their drunkenness; the number of people in their drinking group; and the number of people actually involved in the incident. Various objective indicators of the incident's seriousness were also recorded (see

[9] During the 45 evenings our team spent in pubs for the observational study, only five or six incidents came to our attention.

[10] We wish to thank the 19 security officers who took the time and trouble to assist us with this phase of the research as well as Eden Security and Anthony Heem, their supervisor, for providing introductions.

below). Finally, the circumstances that gave rise to the incident were noted as completely as the security officer could ascertain as well as any strategies employed by the officer or others to prevent the incipient incident from getting out of hand. Interviews with each guard at the end of the 3 week period served to flesh out their notebook accounts and resolve any ambiguities.

Types of Barroom Incidents

Most of the incidents we collected, not surprisingly, started as an argument between two or more patrons, which might or might not get out of hand and evolve into a brawl. In many incidents (28 percent), the security officer could not ascertain the original cause of the argument; in some of these (11 percent), patrons simply seemed in the mood to initiate a fight. The most common causes, however, were disputes over turn-taking or fair play, usually in the games area (10 percent), underlying once more the important recreational functions being performed by these pubs. Other common causes were rivalries concerning female drinking companions, a minor bump or accident, or a patron taking another patron's chair, cigarettes, or drink.

Interestingly, however, 45 percent of the incidents did not begin as an argument between two patrons, but as the result of intervention by a security officer or manager to stop a drinker's misbehavior. Often public standards of appropriate behavior and decency were being violated, such as wantonly smashing glasses, bottles, or pitchers on the table or floor, urinating in public, etc. (17 percent). In almost a quarter of all incidents (23 percent), the conflict was caused by a patron's refusal to conform to a "house rule," usually the dress code required for drinking in the lounge bar. (Public bars in New Zealand, as distinct from lounge bars, are not permitted to have a dress code, which is one reason for their popularity among manual workers on their way home from work.) Conflicts of this type were particularly common among European patrons, accounting for 40 percent of the incidents they initiated. Since most security officers in Auckland's pubs are Polynesian, their authority in this situation is sometimes resented and resisted by European patrons. As one succinctly summed it up, "Blacks do not stop whites."[12]

[11]The guards were taught how to use our recording scheme on the basis of incidents they could recall from past experience and were paid for their participation at the time of their initial and final interview. Each incident was then summarized and coded by at least two members of our research team, with discrepancies resolved through group discussion.

[12]Europeans who initiated incidents were significantly less likely than Polynesian initiators to be regular patrons of the pub in which the incident occurred. This could be a factor in this type of incident since a stranger might be more likely to react with hostility to an unfamiliar Polynesian authority figure.

A somewhat related difference between Polynesian- and European-initiated incidents was the number of people who ultimately became involved. This is not only because Polynesian incidents are more likely to begin as an argument between patrons, or because Polynesians tend to drink in larger groups, as we saw in Study I, but also because group loyalty appears to be stronger so that a higher proportion of a Polynesian's drinking companions come to his assistance when he becomes involved in a fight. Consequently, 40 percent of the incidents initiated by Polynesians ultimately included five or more patrons, whereas this was true of only 22 percent of the incidents initiated by Europeans (chi square = 3.54, $p < .10$).

Ethnic Differences in Incident Seriousness

The major ethnic differences, however, were in the seriousness of the incidents. We had three indexes of seriousness: how far the incident progressed from a purely verbal exchange, through blows, to the use of "weapons" (bottles, chairs, or any other object held in the hand or thrown); the amount of damage caused (none, minor, such as broken glasses and pitchers, or serious, such as broken furniture or damage to the building); and the amount of personal injury sustained (none, minor cuts and bruises, or serious injury requiring medical attention). Not surprisingly, these three indexes are significantly correlated with each other (the Pearson correlation coefficients ranged from .46 to .59), permitting us to combine them into a single "seriousness" index by simply adding the scores for each incident on each of these three items. We also recorded whether or not the police had become involved.[13]

There were no significant Maori/Islander differences on any of these seriousness measures, but, as can be seen in table 2, European/Polynesian differences on all measures were substantial. For example, incidents initiated by Europeans were more likely to remain at the verbal level than those initiated by Polynesians (36 percent vs. 18 percent, chi square = 4.64, $p < .05$). Furthermore, if they did result in a fight, Europeans were more likely to restrict themselves to fists, whereas Polynesians frequently picked up something around them to use as a weapon (8 percent vs. 34 percent; chi square = 5.94, $p < .02$). Partly as a result of this tendency, Polynesian-initiated incidents were also more likely to result in serious personal injury (22 percent vs. 3 percent; chi square = 6.68, $p < .01$) or serious property damage (22 percent vs. 8 percent; chi square = 2.96, $p < .10$). Consequently,

[13] This, too, could have been used as another item in our "seriousness" index, but we wanted to maintain its operational independence so that we could test which factors led to police involvement, of which the seriousness of the incident might be only one. See the causal model in this discussion.

Table 2. Ethnic Differences in the Seriousness of Pub Incidents (Percent)

	Ethnicity of the Initiator[1]		
	Maoris ($N = 33$)	Islanders ($N = 41$)	Europeans ($N = 36$)
Number involved			
1 only	12	10	16
2–4	42	55	62
5 or more	46	35	22
Type of conflict ("fight")			
Verbal	21	15	36
Blows	49	49	56
"Weapons"[3]	30	36	8
Property damage			
None	42	41	64
Minor	30	41	28
Serious[4]	27	17	8
Personal injury			
None	36	34	61
Minor	46	41	36
Serious[5]	18	24	3
Serious consequences (highest category on either of the preceding two indexes)	36	32	11
Police involvement	52	44	33

[1] The initiator was defined as the person who struck the first blow, or whose behavior resulted in security guard intervention. Nine incidents in our original sample of 119 have been excluded in which the ethnicity of the initiator(s) was mixed or could not be determined.

[2] Includes only the number of patrons involved. In most cases the police, security officer or manager also became involved.

[3] "Weapons" include any object thrown or held in the hand.

[4] "Minor" property damage includes broken glasses, pitchers, and bottles. "Serious" damage includes all damage to furnishings and buildings.

[5] "Minor" personal injury includes minor cuts and bruises. "Serious" personal injury is injury requiring medical attention.

over a third of the incidents initiated by Polynesians could be considered serious by one or another of these two criteria, whereas this was true of only 11 percent of the European-initiated incidents (chi square = 6.43, $p < .02$). Finally, in almost half of the incidents initiated by Polynesian patrons, the security officer and manager were unable to deal with the situation, and the police had to be called in. This was true of only a third of the incidents initiated by Europeans (chi square = 3.78, $p < .10$).

Determinants of Incident Seriousness

As the New Zealand public has suspected, there apparently are substantial differences in the seriousness of barroom incidents initiated by Polynesians and those initiated by Europeans. What can account for these differences? The most common explanation offered by New Zealanders is that Polynesians cannot handle alcohol. This bit of conventional wisdom can be tested in part by examining the correlation between ratings of an initiator's drunkenness and the seriousness of the incident which followed.[14] But we also looked at

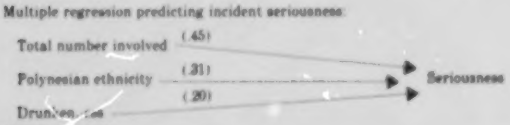
Table 3. Determinants of Incident Seriousness

(N = 119 barroom incidents over a three-week period)

Predictors	Indicators of seriousness of incident				
	Fight	Damage	Injury	Seriousness index	Police involvement
Characteristics of setting					
Pub type (0,1 = public)	.08	.14	.11	.14	−.05
Time of day	.16	.18	.10	.18	.21
Characteristics of initiator					
Age	.05	−.14	.06	.08	.18
Sex (0,1 = male)	.13	.05	.16	.06	−.02
Regular patron (0,1 = yes)	.11	.07	.04	.09	−.12
Drunkenness	.05	.24	.12	.17	.17
Polynesian ethnicity (0,1 = yes)	.29	.24	.28	.33	.14
Social context					
Size of initiator's group	.21	.36	.23	.33	.05
Total number involved	.25	.48	.38	.46	.17

NOTE—With an N of 119 incidents, correlations of .15 are statistically significant at the .05 level. Any correlations under .23, however, account for less than 5 percent of the variance, and therefore have little social significance.

Multiple regression predicting incident seriousness:



Multiple R = .55

Partial correlations controlling for the other two variables are in parentheses. This represents the "independent" contribution of each variable to seriousness. No further variables made a significant contribution to the regression equation.

[14] Estimates made by the security officers of the degree of intoxication of the initiator are obviously subjective. We asked only for a 3-point scale: not drunk, slightly drunk, and drunk. The latter category is one which the security officer must be able to estimate regularly since it often becomes the basis on which further service is denied. Also, since most security officers share the public belief that alcohol is a major contributor to violence, if there is a bias in their estimates, it should be in the direction of overestimating the drunkenness of patrons who initiate serious incidents. These three categories, as it turned out, formed a nice distribution: not drunk (22 percent), slightly drunk (53 percent), and drunk (25 percent).

correlations between other potential determinants and our seriousness index. Because of correlations among these potential determinants, however, it is more informative to use a multivariate statistical technique to evaluate their relative contribution. In table 3, therefore, we have also presented our data in the form of a multiple regression.

The type of setting in which the incident took place, whether public bar or lounge bar (which through dress codes, atmosphere, and pricing is thought to cater to a more genteel clientele), had, surprisingly, no significant relationship to its seriousness. Neither did the age and sex of initiators nor whether or not they were regular patrons of the bar.

The more intoxicated the initiator was judged to be and the later the incident occurred in the evening (and therefore, of course, the more alcohol that had been consumed by the participants), the more serious was the incident, which supports the argument that alcohol may be a contributing factor. But the raw correlations are both far weaker than conventional wisdom might lead us to expect (.17 and .18, respectively). Furthermore, "time of day" drops out of the regression equation as a significant contributing factor altogether, while "drunkenness" accounts for less than 5 percent of the variance.

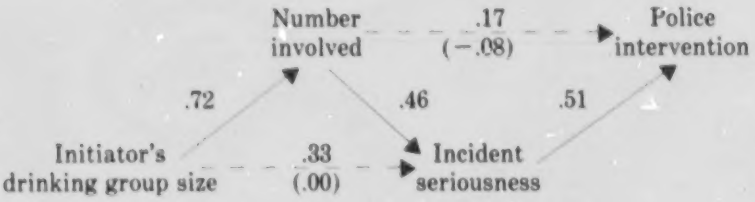
Polynesian ethnicity, as noted above, is strongly associated with every index of seriousness employed and continues to make a significant independent contribution to incident seriousness in the regression equation. Nevertheless, this factor accounts for only about 10 percent of the variation in incident seriousness. The major factor associated with the seriousness of these incidents is the number of people involved in the incident.[15] The more people who join in, the more serious the incident is likely to become. Although this makes a good deal of sense, its implications have tended to be overlooked. To understand the causes of violence in pubs, we should stop being so concerned about alcohol consumption and drinkers' personal characteristics (age, sex, ethnicity, etc.) and instead probe more deeply into their social relationships and the norms of appropriate behavior that guide them.

Regardless of ethnic background, the strongest predictor of the number of people who will become involved in an incident is the size of the initiator's drinking group.[16] Among both Polynesians and Eu-

[15] The raw number of persons involved in an incident formed a highly skewed distribution with a median of 2 but a range of up to 40. To avoid correlational artifacts, the data were collapsed and recast within four scoring categories to approximate a normal distribution as follows: 1 (13 percent), 2 (42 percent), 3–10 (35 percent), over 10 (11 percent).

[16] The same type of skewing problem occurred with respect to the number of people in the initiator's drinking group. The data were, therefore, again recast into five scoring categories as follows: 1 (14 percent), 2 (26 percent), 3–4 (22 percent), 5–10 (20 percent), over 10 (8 percent).

ropeans, when someone becomes involved in a fight, his drinking companions feel obliged to lend a hand; this, in turn, results in more people joining the other side. This is even true when the dispute is between a patron and the security officer since it is not uncommon for bystanders to aid both parties. In turn, the strongest predictor of police involvement is the seriousness of the incident. Consequently, we have a logical and empirical causal chain repeated independently within each ethnic group:



(Partial correlations controlling for "number involved" and "incident seriousness" are in parentheses.)

We are now in a position to evaluate the points at which ethnicity makes its contribution. In Study I we have shown that Polynesians tend to drink in substantially larger groups than Europeans. Consequently, they generally have more drinking companions available to provide support if they get into a conflict. We have also noted earlier that group solidarity seems to be stronger among Polynesians than among Europeans, so that a higher proportion of their mates will come to their aid. Finally, when Polynesians become involved in an argument, they are far more likely than Europeans to move from words to blows, so that more injury and property damage result. Thus Polynesian ethnicity contributes to higher values on all of the first three steps along this causal chain. The only point not influenced by ethnicity is the last: When we control for the seriousness of these incidents, there is no greater tendency for police to intervene when Polynesian drinkers are involved than when Europeans are involved. Although it is probable that police patrols of public bars lead to more Polynesian arrests than if they spent their time patrolling other areas of the city, our data provide no evidence that Polynesian offenders are singled out. Police intervention is purely dependent on the seriousness of the incident.

Discussion

Similarities between the causal models that have emerged from these two studies require little comment. A major conclusion from the research reported here is that the significantly higher levels of

alcohol consumption and pub violence that we recorded among Polynesian patrons, and that have become a source of much concern within the dominant society, are not the result of moral virtue on the part of Europeans or of moral turpitude on the part of Maoris and Pacific Islanders. Rather, these ethnic differences in consumption and violence largely can be accounted for by differences in the size of their typical drinking groups. Europeans tend to feel less drawn to and less comfortable within groups of any kind than do Polynesians, and thus many avoid group drinking situations. And when they do participate, they prefer smaller groups and leave earlier than do Polynesians. Consequently, they drink less and are less likely to be drawn into serious barroom incidents.

By contrast, most Polynesians enjoy all kinds of group activities; group drinking is only one of them (Graves and Graves 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980). Group activities also serve as an expression of ethnic identity and solidarity within a predominantly individualistic society (Hohepa 1978; Rangihau 1977). In this we can see parallels in many other parts of the world where minority status results in the formation and accentuation of group loyalties on an ethnic basis, sometimes with consequences for drinking behavior (c.f. Graves 1970). But it is important to recognize that among the dominant European community as well, those whose affiliation needs express themselves through participation in large drinking groups also consume more and are more likely to become involved in barroom brawls than their more individualistic neighbors. The same causal models apply within all three ethnic groups studied.

This suggests that it may be useful to look at the functions of group drinking as part of a wider life adaptation. Research in other settings has led us to identify one such adaptation as involving a "peer-reliant" strategy in which a wide circle of friends becomes a major resource for dealing with the problems of everyday life: finding a job, building a home, repairing a car, or floating a loan. Such support groups are increasingly recognized as making an important contribution to the mental and physical health of the participants (Cassel 1974; Dean and Lin 1977; Graves and Graves 1979, 1980).

In this type of life adaptation, the pub serves as a central arena within which bonds of friendship are created and maintained and as a communication hub for the exchange of goods and services. Consequently, among the 69 male manual workers from all three ethnic groups interviewed as part of a larger factory study, 82 percent of those whom we classified as exhibiting a peer-reliant life adaptation on other grounds reported drinking with their mates at the local pub at least weekly (see Graves and Graves 1977, 1980). By contrast, this was true of only about 25 percent of those who were emphasizing other types of adaptive strategies.

For many working-class men, regardless of ethnic background, a willingness regularly to buy their friends a round of drinks and to support them when in trouble is necessary for maintaining this type of group-oriented adaptive strategy. Occasional involvement in pub violence as an expression of peer solidarity, therefore, may be one of its potential costs. But the many social, psychological, and material rewards of this strategy far outweigh these costs for those who participate in it.

This research provides little support for popular theories concerning the critical role of alcohol in promoting barroom violence or Polynesian susceptibility to its effects. European initiators were just as likely to be intoxicated as Polynesian initiators, and the correlations between the drunkenness of an initiator and the seriousness of the incident which followed were consistently low within all three groups. Although a certain number of serious conflicts occur at New Zealand pubs each week, this may be simply because these are settings where large numbers of workingmen regularly congregate. Since drinking is an important activity in these gathering places, when conflicts arise the participants have almost always been drinking. But this does not imply a causal relationship between drunkenness and violence, only covariation. Alcohol may be suffering from a bad case of guilt by association.

It follows from this analysis that it may prove scientifically profitable to shift our attention from the secondary function of the public bar as a dispensor of alcohol to its primary function as a social/recreational center. People from all ethnic groups generally patronize the pub to socialize, and their alcohol consumption is a byproduct of this activity. The social/recreational functions of the pub for working-class men have been discussed by many observers (Anderson 1978; Cavan 1966; Clinard 1962; Harrison et al. 1943; Macrory 1952; Sommer 1965). We may only add that in many cases these social bonds should also be seen as part of a more general peer-reliant life adaptation. In New Zealand, as elsewhere, the pub is probably the most important workingman's club, and this is as true for Polynesians and Europeans alike. This does not mean that the consumption of alcohol is an unimportant part of pub activity, but it is the conviviality, not the alcohol, which is usually of central importance.

In conclusion, whatever insights the present program of research may have provided should be tempered by a recognition of its limitations. In any observational study of drinking and violence in natural settings, we can normally know little about the background characteristics of the drinkers or their motivations for seeking out the settings within which they are being observed. Nevertheless, once persons, for whatever reason, have chosen to enter some particular setting such as a public bar, they will be strongly influenced by norms

of appropriate behavior within that setting. It is in the interplay between individual motivations and group norms, we feel, that some of the most fruitful insights emerge (Graves and Graves 1978). What is particularly interesting about the present analysis, however, is that even when these norms are widely shared across cultural boundaries, there can be significant ethnic differences in the resulting behavior because of differences in social structure. From our observations, for example, Polynesians appear to drink by the same rules as do other New Zealanders and to feel the same pressures to come to the aid of a friend in trouble. But because of their tendency to drink in larger groups than those from a European heritage, these behavioral norms result in greater alcohol consumption and more serious barroom incidents.

Nor can we ultimately afford to confine our analyses to drinking situations themselves, even if we move beyond those public settings where unobtrusive observation is relatively simple. Broader contextual issues must also be considered. Styles of drinking behavior are an integral part of a person's total life adaptation, and that adaptation is determined in part by economic, social, and political forces that have been only lightly touched on here. Clearly there is ample room for those from many disciplinary orientations to contribute significantly to our understanding of drinking behavior. But given the limitations of perspective and method which training within a single discipline tends to produce, it also seems clear that a multidisciplinary team-research approach is now needed, within which our varying contributions can find theoretical and empirical integration.

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Drinking Behavior in Small Groups: The Relationship Between Group Size and Consumption Level

Ole-Jørgen Skog*

Most of the alcohol consumed is drunk in groups. Dight (1976 p. 123) reports that about 90 percent of all drinking occasions in Scotland are group occasions, and Harford (1977 p. 239) reports similar results for American drinkers. Obviously, the social group must be an important arena in the development of drinking behavior both phylogenetically and ontogenetically.

However, the dynamics of drinking behavior in social groups have not been extensively studied. To be sure, a few notable exceptions exist, such as Bruun's classic study from the late fifties (1959), but, until recently, studies of social interaction and interdependence of drinking behavior have been rare.

During the last few years, however, a number of studies of modeling and modification of drinking behavior have been conducted, and these studies will be important stepping-stones for the study of group dynamics with respect to drinking. This discussion was inspired by these studies, as well as by observational studies of group drinking in taverns.

The purpose of this discussion is to try to reconcile two important observations: First, experimental studies have produced results suggesting that group drinkers are more strongly influenced by high-rate drinking companions than by low-rate companions. Second, observational studies suggest that people drinking in large groups tend to consume more than people drinking in small groups. The first observation may partly explain the latter one.

* Kettil Bruun made valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper.

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Relationship Between Group Size and Consumption Level

In his classical studies of drinking behavior in Canadian beer parlors, Sommer (1965) observed that male group drinkers consumed twice as much as male isolated drinkers. This difference was because group drinkers spent twice as much time in pubs as did isolated drinkers.

Sommer states that this difference between isolated drinkers and group drinkers has a simple interpretation. In the taverns studied, lone drinkers had nothing to do except to drink and to watch other people, and it appears likely that being with other people makes the pub a much more desirable place to be. The fact that isolated drinkers who were joined by others during their stay tended to remain in the pub even longer than ordinary group drinkers supports the idea that the opportunity to talk with others, rather than the opportunity to look at them or the presence of beer, is what makes the pub a pleasant place in which to sit (Sommer, p. 107). As Sommer (p. 99) points out, however, the observed difference may be an artifact. "Many people go into taverns because they are lonely and only drink because they are in the taverns" (p. 96). The latter observation strongly suggests that many isolated drinkers may stay for a shorter time than group drinkers because they move to another tavern. Hence, if Sommer had been able to observe movements between taverns, his results might have been different. If isolated drinkers have more mobility than group drinkers, it is possible that the former's drinking episodes may be even longer than the latter's.

If this is correct, we should also take into account that the probability of going to another tavern may vary a great deal from tavern to tavern, according to the facilities available. For instance, in taverns offering different kinds of recreational activities, isolated drinkers may tend to stay much longer since loneliness may not be so unpleasant when they can engage in these activities or watch others doing so. In such taverns, isolated drinkers might even be observed to stay longer and drink more than group drinkers.

We should expect, then, the differences between isolated drinkers and group drinkers—with respect to duration of drinking episodes, amounts consumed, and possibly drinking rates—to depend strongly on contextual factors. Important qualitative differences exist between the two types of drinkers, and they may respond very differently to alterations in environmental factors.

In regard to groups of different sizes, however, more stable patterns may exist. It is far from obvious that it is more pleasant to have several drinking companions than it is to have just one, and com-

parisons between groups of different sizes may, therefore, be less problematic.

Such comparisons have been made in several studies. Cutler and Storm (1975), who observed drinking in Canadian beer parlors, found a positive correlation between group size and number of beers consumed per individual ($r = .34$) and between group size and duration of drinking episode ($r = .45$).

These positive correlations do not solely mirror the difference between isolated drinkers and group drinkers. As can be seen from table 1, there are also differences between different types of group drinkers. Dyads stay shorter than triads ($\chi^2 = 37.8$, $df = 7$, $p < .001$), and triads stay shorter than larger groups ($\chi^2 = 18.8$, $df = 7$, $p = .009$). Cutler and Storm do not present corresponding data for the number of beers consumed, but the strong association between duration and consumption ($r = .81$) certainly suggests that the groups are different with respect to number of beers consumed as well.

Table 1. Distribution of Subjects (Percent of *N*) According to Duration of Visit and Group Size

Group Size	Duration of Visit in Minutes								Mean Duration	*N*
	1–29	30–59	60–89	90–119	120–179	180–239	240–299	300+		
1	61.3	23.9	7.1	3.9	1.9	1.3	0.6	0	36.6	155
2	32.3	37.1	18.5	6.5	3.4	1.3	0	.9	55.0	232
3	21.7	30.0	11.7	13.9	12.8	5.0	1.1	3.9	85.7	180
4–5	14.3	28.3	16.6	14.8	17.5	5.4	1.3	1.8	89.9	223
6+	11.5	4.6	16.1	8.0	17.2	28.7	6.9	6.9	151.7	87
Percent of total *N*	28.6	27.8	14.4	9.8	10.0	5.8	1.4	2.2	76.1	877

Data from Cutler and Storm 1975, p. 1179.

Another study has demonstrated a relationship between group size and drinking rate; i.e., intake per hour. Rosenbluth, Nathan, and Lawson (1978) observed group-drinking students in a natural environment and found that the drinking rate was significantly smaller for subjects drinking in dyads than for subjects drinking in larger groups.

These studies suggest that there may be a positive relationship between the size of a social group and the consumption level of participants. Of course, further studies are needed before we can decide on the generality of this relationship, but it is nevertheless tempting to speculate about possible explanations.

First, it is possible that the relationship is spurious. Small groups may be more mobile than large groups, and the observations may, therefore, be less complete in terms of duration and total intake for small groups than for large groups. Further, if the typical large group is different from the typical small group in terms of age, sex-composition, etc., we may simply be observing the well-known fact that drinking behavior varies along these lines. For the studies in question, however, the latter problem does not appear to be significant, and for Rosenbluth, Nathan, and Lawson's study (1978), neither does the former problem since they observed drinking rates rather than duration.

Second, the social circumstances may be different for large and small groups. Obviously, a large group celebrating a birthday is qualitatively different from a married couple taking a drink after having been to a movie, and it may be difficult to make meaningful comparisons. In some way or another we should take into consideration the purpose of the meeting since it may determine both the size of the group and participants' drinking behavior.

Third, heavy drinkers may have a stronger preference for large groups than do moderate drinkers. In a certain sense this would mean that drinking behavior determines group size rather than the reverse. At first sight, this explanation may appear incompatible with the frequent observation that alcoholics often drink in isolation. This is not necessarily so, however, since it is stated that those heavy drinkers who drink in groups tend to prefer large groups rather than small ones. Hence, nothing is said about those who drink alone. Moreover, Dight's (1976, pp. 122–123) observation that heavy drinkers report a higher proportion of their drinking occasions taking place in large groups than do moderate drinkers is consistent with the hypothesis outlined above.

A closely related possibility is that any persons (i.e., both heavy and moderate users) may prefer large groups when they intend to drink a great deal. When they intend to drink small amounts, they may prefer small groups or have no particular preference. In any case, we would observe that people in large groups drink more than those in small groups.

The fourth possibility is that group size may be a crucial factor by itself. The dynamics of social groups may depend on group size in such a way that each individual drinker would tend to drink more when in a large group than when in a small group. If this is so, we could say that group size determines drinking behavior, and we would have a causal explanation as opposed to the above explanation, which is teleological.

This last hypothesis is also consistent with Dight's observation. If large groups induce more drinking than do small groups, people who spend much time in large groups will more likely become heavy consumers than will people who spend most of their time with small groups. Hence, there would be a positive correlation between the general consumption level and the size of typical group-affiliation, as Dight observed.

Of course, the teleological explanation and the causal explanation may both have some truth. Perhaps heavy drinkers have a stronger preference for large groups than do moderate drinkers, and the dynamics of social interaction in groups may intensify the differences in drinking behavior even further. If group dynamics create more drinking in large groups, it may be that heavy drinkers prefer large groups for precisely this reason. More generally, the teleological explanation obviously begs the question of why heavy users (and people who intend to drink large amounts) prefer large groups, and unless we accept without further questioning that it may be more pleasant to have many companions, we find ourselves searching for causal explanations. This makes it even more important to investigate the fourth possibility in the above list.

It is interesting, though not decisive, to note that in Cutler and Storm's study (1975), the correlation structure for the three variables— "group size," "duration of drinking episode," and "amounts consumed"—appears to be compatible with the notion of a causal relationship. According to Simon (1954), the causal chain "group size" → "duration of drinking episode" → "amounts consumed" would normally imply that the partial correlation between "group size" and "amounts consumed" should be zero. This is true, and we obtain $r_{GA.D} = -.05$. If, on the other hand, the observed relationships were essentially teleological, and the subject's intention to drink large or small amounts determines both "duration of drinking episode" and "group size," we should expect the partial correlation between the two latter variables to be zero. This is not the case, however. We obtain $r_{DG.A} = .32$, which may be interpreted to mean that "group size" affects "duration of drinking episode" in a way that cannot be explained by the subject's intentions.

Admittedly, the above argument is speculative. The formula applied to calculate partial correlations definitely assumes linearity, but we have had no possibility for checking this assumption. Furthermore, inferences regarding what determines what through analysis of correlation structure are notoriously unreliable. In effect, the above argument proves nothing, but it is, nevertheless, suggestive.

Social Interaction in Drinking Groups

Everyday observations suggest that people's drinking behavior is influenced by the drinking behavior of their companions. A rapidly growing number of experimental studies verify this impression and indicate that the impact of such forces is very strong. Large changes in the drinking rate of experimental subjects are normally observed when they are exposed to high- and low-drinking models (Caudill and Marlatt 1975; DeRicco 1978; DeRicco and Garlington 1977, 1978; Garlington and DeRicco 1977; Lied and Marlatt 1979; Reid 1978).

In the natural environment, where subjects' drinking companions are other subjects, rather than models with drinking patterns fixed in advance by the experimenter, the relations are bidirectional and interactive rather than unidirectional and reactive. Here, subjects modify each others' behavior, and each subject is both adapting to and actively influencing others' behavior. As Bruun (1959, p. 31) demonstrated in his study of drinking in small groups, the effect of this process is a substantial homogenization of drinking behavior within the group, both with respect to quantities consumed and beverage preferences.

The extent to which people influence each other in real-life situations is likely to vary a great deal. Within the drinking group some persons will exert more pressure on their companions than will others, and the possibility of asymmetries in the relations between potential high consumers and potential low consumers appears to be particularly important.

Bruun was able to demonstrate the existence of such asymmetries. He concludes (p. 51):

> The social norms concerned with how one should drink when one drinks are extraordinarily homogenous and have been formulated in the following way:
> a) It is manly and estimable to drink a great deal when one does drink.
> b) It is manly and estimable to drink a great deal without getting too drunk.
> c) A member of the group is permitted to drink more than the other members.
> d) A member of the group is forbidden to drink less than the other members.

The last two of these norms elevate the consumption of a person who is liable to drink at a slow rate while allowing persons liable to drink rapidly to do so. This asymmetry increases the general level of consumption in the group.

DeRicco and Garlington (1978) have demonstrated a similar tendency. In their experiment, each subject was exposed to two concurrent models, one drinking at a high rate and the other drinking at a low rate. The authors report that the experimental subjects consistently matched the high consumption model and ignored the low consumption model throughout all the experimental conditions.

Rather than interpreting their results in terms of social norms, as Bruun did, DeRicco and Garlington suggest that the concept of behavior-modeling may be relevant. They argue that the high consumption model is followed because it provides more behavior to be modeled. A low consumption model represents less behavior and more "none-behavior," and since modeling requires behavior to be imitated, one should expect subjects to follow the model with most behavior; i.e., the high consumption model.

These studies suggest an asymmetry exists in the relations between fast and slow drinkers to the effect that fast drinkers are more influential. Alternatively, it is easier to make persons drink faster than to make them drink slower. (Caudill and Marlatt's data (1975) are consistent with this interpretation.) This is probably true in natural drinking groups as well. Aside from Bruunian norms and modeling effects, fast drinkers have a repertoire of "soft" techniques by which they can speed the rate of slow drinkers. For instance, the rituals of toasting may obviously be to the benefit of fast drinkers but not to slow drinkers. Furthermore, since drinks tend to be ordered in complete rounds (Cutler and Storm 1975, p. 1182), the fastest drinkers may challenge slow drinkers to finish their drinks so that the fast drinkers may have another one. Slow drinkers may, of course, refuse, but this can sometimes be difficult, and it will not necessarily prevent others from ordering another drink. This technique is probably more readily available in large groups than in dyads since large groups allow informal coalitions to be formed.

The effect of these asymmetries on the drinking rate of groups of different sizes can be evaluated by ignoring all other factors contributing to the observed differences. For sake of argument, let us, therefore, consider a group composed at random and assume that the individuals have certain latent tendencies with respect to drinking rate.

Clearly the larger the group, the higher the latent drinking rate of the fastest drinkers is likely to be. Since Bruunian norms, modeling effects, and the consumption elevating techniques mentioned above will bring the average drinking rate of the group closer to the latent maximum than to the latent minimum, and since the former will be higher in large groups, we ought to expect a positive correlation between average drinking rate and size of the group.

Admittedly, this argument fails to consider some of the more subtle mechanisms involved. First, it is possible that the principle of asymmetry has restricted validity. A group member whose drinking rate is very much higher than that of the other group members actually may affect the behavior of his or her drinking companions only moderately. In other words, if the member becomes too deviant,

his or her dominance may disappear. Second, in very large groups (10 or more members) subcliques are likely to develop, and the overall drinking rate will depend on how these subcliques are formed. Thus, the above argument has limited validity, and we should expect the asymmetry to produce correlation between drinking rate and group size only when groups are not very heterogeneous or very large.

Mechanisms similar to those described above may also affect the duration of the drinking episodes. While isolated drinkers are free to leave whenever they decide, group drinkers are influenced by their companions, and asymmetries to the benefit of those who want to remain longest may produce the observed result.

The mutual influence between group members with respect to duration of the drinking episode is evident from the fact that drinkers who arrive in groups tend to leave in groups (Sommer 1965, p. 105). Differences between isolated drinkers and group drinkers with respect to distribution of subjects, according to length of episode, point in the same direction.

As can be seen in figures 1 and 2, the distribution of isolated drinkers is fairly close to exponential distributions, both in Sommer's and in Cutler and Storm's studies. For Sommer's data, we obtain $\chi^2 = 8.5$, $df = 5$, $p = .13$, and for Cutler and Storm's, $\chi^2 = 2.3$, $df = 3$, $p = .51$.

This suggests that isolated drinkers tend to leave the premises at a fairly constant rate: Of those who still remain in the bar at time $T = t$, a certain proportion will leave during the next period, and this proportion is fixed and independent of t. Hence, isolated drinkers behave as if they decide at each moment whether to leave or not, independent of how long they have been there.[1]

When we turn to groups of different sizes, the patterns become different, however. Not only is the departure rate lower than for isolates (corresponding to the fact that mean duration is longer), but it is no longer stable. As shown in figure 2, the number of departures during the first half hour is considerably smaller than we would expect on the basis of the constant rate hypothesis. The distributions are, in effect, unimodal rather than J-shaped, witnessing less diversity and, hence, smaller variance than expected.

This pattern implies that the departure rate for group drinkers is fairly small during the first part of the drinking episode. For dyads and triads the departure rate during the first half hour is about 25 percent lower than their respective average rates, and for larger groups it is about 45 percent lower. Hence, there appears to be some mechanism preventing the group drinkers from leaving early.

[1] This will certainly not be true if we make observations during very long periods of time since exhaustion will eventually occur. It appears to be true, however, in a restricted and approximate sense for time periods of moderate length.

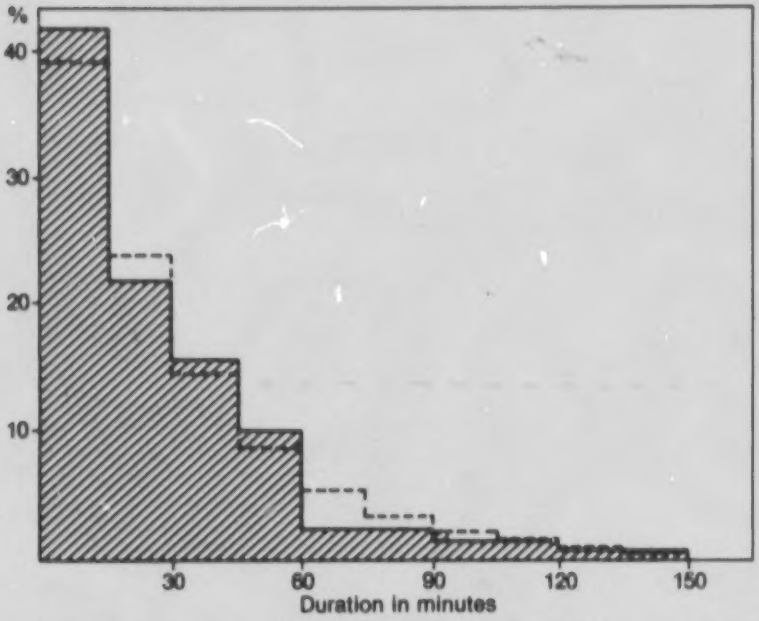

Figure 1: Observed distribution of isolated drinkers according to duration of drinking episode and the corresponding exponential distribution (---). Data from Sommer (1965, p. 102).

This mechanism may be the asymmetry alluded to above. An asymmetry would substantially prolongate the visit for those who have a latent tendency to leave early, but would not seriously affect those who have a latent tendency to stay longer. Hence, the distribution becomes distorted. The variance—or rather the coefficient of variation—will decrease while the mean increases, and the initial departure rates will fall below the corresponding average rate.

By an argument identical to the one suggested for drinking rates, we would expect the alleged asymmetry to produce a positive correlation between group size and the duration of drinking episodes. And if both drinking rate and duration of drinking episodes increase with group size, so will the total amount consumed.

It is possible that the differences between groups of various sizes produced by the asymmetry are small. The differences may be fortified, however, by other mechanisms present in large groups. We shall briefly outline one such possible mechanism.

In small groups the communication structure is fairly simple, and individual signals are easily perceived. In large groups the communication structure is less lucid, and individual signals become more or

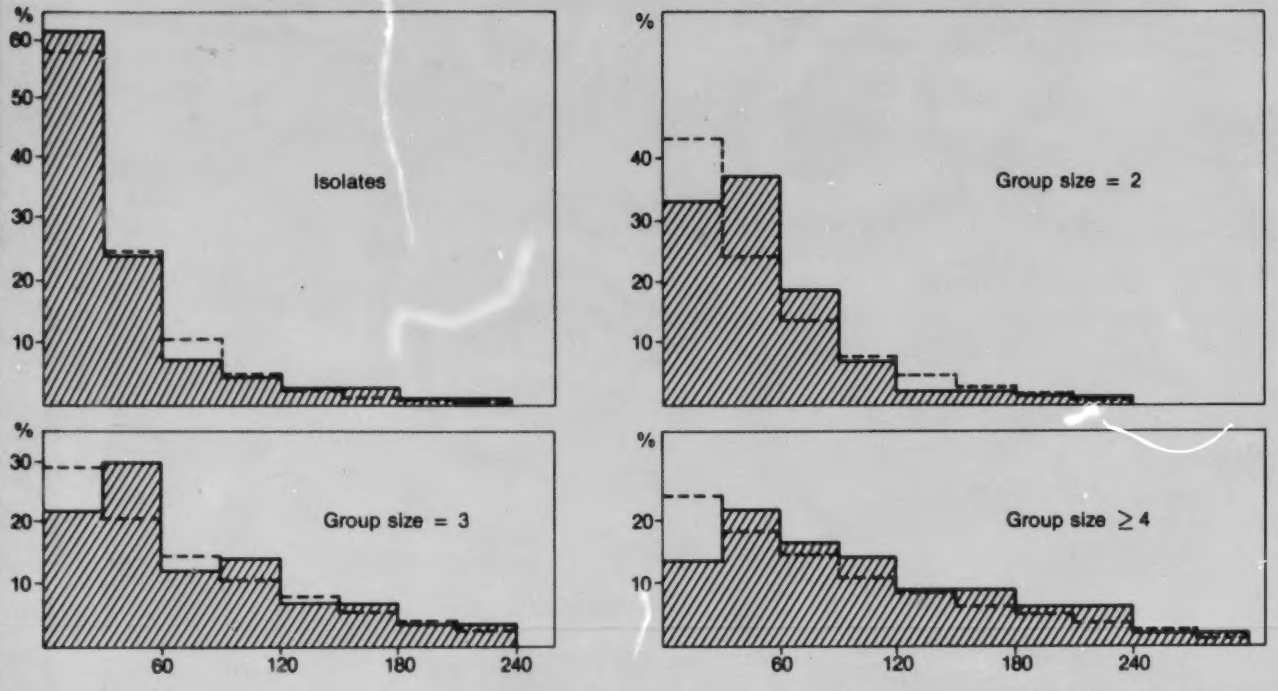

Figure 2: Observed distributions of isolated drinkers and group drinkers according to duration of drinking episode and the corresponding exponential distributions (---). Data from Cutler and Storm (1975).

less confounded, thereby losing individuality. In a certain sense, behavior becomes more regulated by the general atmosphere or general normative climate created in the group. In small groups, behavior is regulated through individual normative actions while in larger groups, general social norms of a more collective and anonymous type are added to, and partly replace, these actions. The larger the group, the less its drinking behavior depends on each member, and the more it depends on, and develops according to, its own inner logic. It is tempting to conjecture that such differences between small groups (one to four members) and large groups (five or more members) may have the effect of reducing the importance of the individual's latent tendency as a determinant of his or her drinking behavior. It may, on the average, be more difficult to stick to one's own personal habits in large groups than in small groups, and this would imply that groups would tend to become more homogeneous with respect to drinking behavior as the number of members increases. Clearly, such tendencies could also fortify the effect of asymmetries since resistance to pressure is reduced.

As group size continues to grow, however, other mechanisms may appear, and these may counteract such tendencies. In particular, the formation of subcliques may have such an effect. Hence, the hypothesis of increasing homogeneity should be circumscribed to groups with, say, less than 10 members.

In summary, it appears possible that the alleged asymmetry in interpersonal influence-relations may elevate a group's consumption level in such a way that it becomes positively correlated to group size. Our next task, then, is to investigate the magnitude of the differences created by such a mechanism. We have therefore developed a simple numerical model of behavior modification in groups. The model makes restrictive assumptions, which may not be realistic, but it should, nevertheless, give us a rough idea of the magnitudes involved.

A Numerical Model

Since we have argued that the asymmetry operates both on drinking rate and duration of the drinking episode and, therefore, on total intake, we shall concentrate on the latter variable. We shall assume that each person has a latent consumption level, which we denote as Y. The person's actual consumption level will depend on the other group members, and we assume that it is a weighted sum of the person's own latent level and the latent level of his or her drinking companions. This assumption takes care of the fact that drinkers modify each other's behavior and the weights can be interpreted as measuring the strength of the interpersonal influence.

Assume that we have constructed a group by drawing N persons at random.[2] Let $Y_{(1)}$ denote the latent consumption level of the subject having the lowest value in this group, $Y_{(2)}$ denote the latent level of the subject having next to the lowest value, and so on. Hence, we have, by definition, $Y_{[1]} \leq Y_{[2]} \leq , \ldots , \leq Y_{(N)}$.[3] According to the above assumptions, the actual consumption level of the i-th person, which we denote $X_{(i)}$, will be

$$X_{(i)} = p_{i1}Y_{(1)} + p_{i2}Y_{(2)} + \ldots + p_{iN}Y_{(N)} \qquad \text{(Formula 1)}$$

where P_{ij} denotes the extent to which the i-th person is influenced by the j-th person.

The hypothesis of asymmetry now suggests that the dynamics of the group will create differences with respect to degree of influence so that the higher the latent consumption of a subject, the more his or her companions will be influenced by the subject's behavior. Hence, we may assume that the p's in the above formula (disregarding p_{ii}) form an increasing sequence, just as the Y's do. To simplify matters, we shall assume that the strength of each person's influence on the others is proportional to the person's rank. Hence, we set

$$p_{ij} = \begin{cases} (1 - \mu) + \beta i & \text{when } j = i \\ \beta j & \text{when } j \neq i \end{cases} \qquad \text{(Formula 2)}$$

where $\beta = 2\mu/N(N + 1)$ to secure that the weights sum to one. The term $(1 - \mu)$ is included to allow for the possibility that the subjects may influence themselves disproportionally to their rank. Note that the higher the rank of a person, the more the person will be influenced by his or her own latent value, and the less the person will be influenced by others. The parameter μ can be taken as an overall measure of interdependence; i.e., the extent to which the subject's behavior is modified by social forces. The model is illustrated for a dyad in figure 3.

By substituting Formula 2 into Formula 1, and then calculating the mean consumption level in the group ($\bar{X}$), we obtain:

$$\bar{X} = (1 - \mu)\bar{Y} + \beta[Y_{(1)} + 2Y_{(2)} + \ldots + NY_{(N)}] \qquad \text{(Formula 3)}$$

Here we observe that the group's general consumption level is a weighted sum of the individuals' latent consumption levels. Since the subject with highest latent value contributes most, the actual mean will exceed the latent mean. Now, the larger a group is, the larger the

[2] While this assumption may be adequate in an experimental context, it is probably unrealistic in real-life situations. However, this assumption will enable us to bring out the genuine effect of group dynamics more clearly. When comparing the predictions derived from the model with real-life data, the potential effect of a systematic composition mechanism should, of course, be taken into consideration.

[3] The numbers have been put in brackets to denote that we have enumerated the subjects after having observed their latent values. Hence, $Y_{(j)}$ is the j-th order statistic.

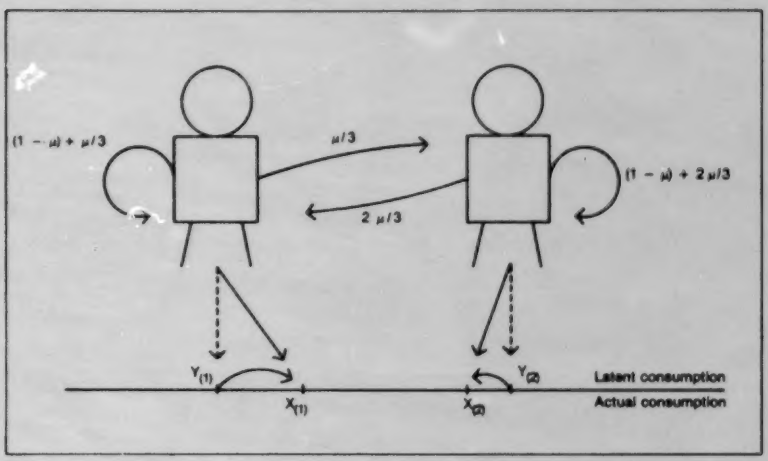

Figure 3: Model of joint modification of drinking behavior in a dyad.

highest latent value will tend to be, and the smaller the lowest latent value will tend to be. However, since the highest latent value carries more weight than the lowest one, these two competing tendencies will not cancel, and the discrepancy will tend to be larger, the larger the group. Hence, the actual consumption level should tend to increase with increasing group size.

To demonstrate this, and to see in what way a group's general consumption level may depend on group size, we assume that the subjects have been drawn from an exponential distribution.[4] Let us consider the expected value of the actual group mean (i.e., the mean of the means in a large number of groups), which we denote as M_N. By utilizing a theorem concerning the expected value of order statistics from an exponential distribution (Feller 1971, p. 20), it can be shown by straightforward calculations that

$$M_N = \left[1 + \mu \frac{N-1}{2(N+1)}\right] m$$

where m is the latent mean. This relationship is depicted in figure 4.

As can be seen, the general drinking level is an increasing function of group size, as expected. The relationship is concave, however, and converges rapidly towards a maximum value. This indicates that the

[4] The distribution of alcohol consumption is highly skewed, and the gamma-distribution appears to give a reasonable fit in many cases (Skog 1974, 1979). The exponential distribution is a special variant of the gamma distribution, chosen here because of its analytical simplicity. This assumption is not vital, however.

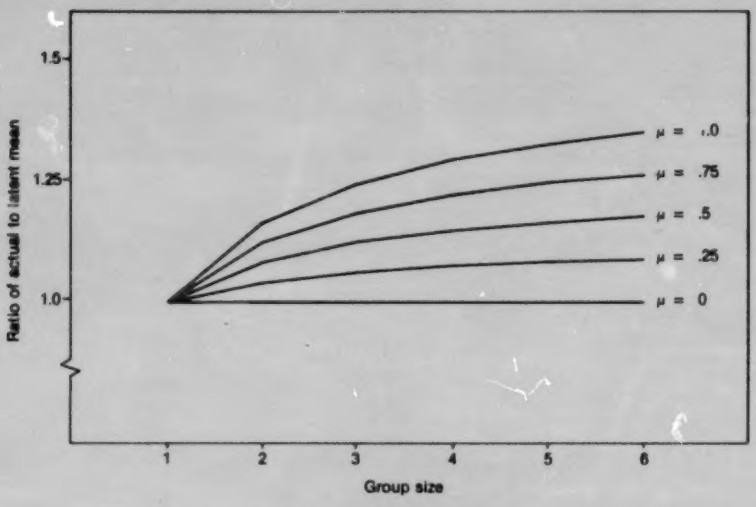

Figure 4: The theoretical relationship between the size of a social group and its consumption level, for different values of the parameter measuring degree of interdependence of drinking behavior.

differences in consumption level will be of practical interest only for fairly small groups. The relative difference between groups with, say, five or six members, is likely to be very small and difficult to detect.

As could be expected on intuitive grounds, the overall level of interdependence has a strong impact on the consumption-elevating effect of group size. If subjects influence each other only moderately (i.e., when μ is small), there hardly will be a noticeable difference between groups of different sizes or even between isolated drinkers and group drinkers. Hence, the reason why Foy and Simon's (1978) experiment failed to demonstrate any difference in consumption level between isolated and group-drinking alcoholics might be because many alcoholics tend to influence each others' drinking only moderately. This last hypothesis is a corollary of the social interaction theory of the distribution of alcohol consumption and is consistent with the fact that many alcoholics are socially isolated (cf. Skog 1980).

When individuals are influencing each other strongly, the effect of group size ought to be noticeable. The model, however, predicts that these differences normally will be fairly small. Even when the individual's drinking behavior is completely determined by the group

(i.e., when $\mu = 1$, and the within-group variance is zero), the model predicts that the asymmetry mechanism will cause a triad to consume only 7 percent more than a dyad, and that groups of four and five subjects will drink 11 percent and 14 percent more, respectively. In Rosenbluth, Nathan, and Lawson's study (1978), the drinking rate for groups exceeds that for dyads by 14 to 51 percent, and in Cutler and Storm's study the mean duration for triads exceeds that of dyads by 56 percent (cf. table 1).

This discrepancy may be reduced to some extent if, as previously suggested, we hypothesize that the general level of interdependence increases with group size. Even in extreme cases, however, the predicted differences between groups of different sizes will not be large enough. If we have $\mu = .25$ in dyads, $\mu = .75$ in triads, and $\mu = 1$ in larger groups, the consumption level in triads will exceed that in dyads by only 14 percent (rather than 7 percent), while in larger groups the consumption level will exceed that in dyads by 25 percent (rather than 11 percent). In effect, other factors must be at work in addition to the asymmetry.

If μ does tend to increase with the size of the group, this could be demonstrated empirically by comparing the within-group variances for groups of different sizes. The stronger the interdependence, the smaller the within-group variances will be, and this applies in spite of the tendency for the general consumption level of the group to increase with increasing group size. The ratio of actual consumption variance to latent consumption variance can be shown to equal $(1 - \mu)^2$ in our model.[5] When groups are composed at random, the latent variance is independent of group size, and, hence, it should be possible to study how μ changes with group size by observing empirical variance ratios.

Those differences between groups of different sizes that are not explained by asymmetries and variations in the degree of interdependence may be explained by the fact that natural drinking groups are not composed at random. Clearly, if heavy drinkers (or any person who wants to drink much) prefer large groups, the effect of the mechanisms mentioned earlier may be strongly fortified.

Such preferences may exist precisely because the alleged asymmetries and variations, in degree of interdependence, allow more drinking. Hence, the selection mechanism may work, not independent of the dynamics of groups, but rather because the dynamics of groups cause large groups to drink more than small ones. If so, the two explanations are closely interrelated, and to ask about the relative importance of the two mechanisms would be meaningless.

[5] This relation holds under even weaker conditions than those assumed above.

Conclusion

The exact nature of the alleged asymmetry in the relation between heavy users and moderate users is probably much more complex than assumed in the above model. For instance, it appears possible that subjects who are very different with respect to latent consumption level will influence each other to a smaller extent than subjects who are only moderately different. Experiments by Lied and Marlatt (1979) and DeRicco (1978) seem to suggest that the structure of reality is more complex than we have assumed.

Nevertheless, the above analysis suggests that asymmetric relations are at least one of the mechanisms which may explain the observed differences between groups of different sizes. A model with a more refined and realistic asymmetry mechanism would probably replicate this result, even though the exact form of the relationship may be different from the one we have obtained.

However, the numerical results obtained from the model indicate that the alleged asymmetry predicts differences in consumption level that are too small, as compared to the observed differences. Furthermore, the asymmetry model does not predict significant differences beyond a group size of five to six persons, which appears to be contrary to facts (cf. table 1). Hence, other factors must also be operating, and we might therefore expect the observed differences to be the joint effect of several causes.

Experiment is, of course, the only safe method for deciding whether, or to what extent, group dynamics may be responsible for the observed positive correlation between group size and consumption level. By random assignment to groups, the potential effect of selectivity in natural groups can be controlled, and if a correlation still remains, it would have to be explained by group dynamics.

It should not prove difficult to decide, by experimental methods, to what extent group dynamic processes are responsible for the observed correlation. It probably will be more difficult to prove or disprove that an asymmetry mechanism is responsible for the correlation. Careful observations of the interaction process could offer valuable suggestions, however.

Such experiments could also produce interesting results on other aspects of the dynamics of group drinking. In particular, the possibility that drinking behavior may be more strongly modified in large groups than in small groups could be tested.

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Cognition and the Environment: Implications for a Self-Awareness Theory of Drinking*

Lawrence S. Gaines

In examining the influence of contexts on drinking, behavioral scientists have assumed that environmental variables are strict causal determinants of drinking (cf. Mello 1972): They have sought a demonstrably clear dependence of drinking on situations alone. This line of research implies a set of perhaps limited assumptions about human behavior; i.e., human behavior can best be explained by the mechanisms of causal determinism in the same way that nonhuman objects are known to respond predictably to well-defined stimuli.

This discussion attempts to show, however, that drinking is not a strictly deterministic response to situations or contexts, and that drinking cannot be sufficiently explained by the mechanisms of causality. Human beings have goals, experience emotions, make plans, construct cultures, and hold certain values; in short, they can act and think in accordance with their cognitions and beliefs. Behavior is not merely a function of contexts but is influenced by values, plans, goals, and subjective states to a degree that researchers espousing a causal model may be inclined to overlook.

This discussion attempts to demonstrate the importance of a drinker's own experience and subjectivity to his or her overt actions. We will consider drinking as it is influenced by the meaning of drinking to the drinker, situational contexts for drinking, subjective processes for interpreting experience, and the relation between subjective states and behavior.

Researchers have attempted to establish a cause-and-effect relationship between specific antecedents of drinking and the physical behavior itself. This has been done by experimentally manipulating situations and by controlling factors that are assumed to reside in the social or physical settings in which the drinker is placed. For example, Higgins and Marlatt (1973) predicted an increase in alcohol

* Preparation of this paper was supported in part by grant No. AA07072 from the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism.

consumption in response to tension induced by researchers. Active alcoholics matched with social drinkers were subjected to the threat of shock and permitted to consume alcohol. Under a high degree of threat, the alcoholics were expected to drink more alcohol than the control subjects in a "taste rating" study, but there was no clear relationship between the threat of shock and the amount of drinking that actually occurred. Other factors may have been operating in the situation, such as the drinkers' definition of the situation. Research strategies involving the manipulation of situations seldom consider the contribution of the drinker's own experience to a context.

In the theory presented here, drinking is depicted as an activity that is not programed and that is performed for reasons which are meaningful to the drinker, representing an active transaction between the person and the environment. It is a means of organizing the relations experienced between the self and the environment such that the act of drinking itself can give the situation a meaning or significance.

Changes in this transaction between person and environment are both reflected in and caused by changes in subjective states. Mello (1978) has recently observed that people seem to use alcohol and other drugs to alter stimulation, even if the alteration involves experiencing aversive states. People may drink in order to alter their awareness and perception of self. We may infer that they also drink to alter their perceptions of themselves within a situation. These changes in subjective experience are the product not merely of the effect of environmental factors upon perception but of an interchange between the two.

Person-Environment System of Drinking

The self-awareness theory of drinking assumes that drinkers are autonomous agents in their transactions with the environment. Such a view of drinkers as self-determining parties in their actions within an environment further assumes that internal mental processes (such as beliefs, constructs, understandings, and values) are major underlying determinants of drinking as a device for altering awareness of the self and of the environment. People strive to achieve environments that fulfill their needs and accomplish their goals and plans. They act in accordance with their beliefs. This premise is similar to Stokols' (1978) idea of human-environment optimization:

> Specifically, the optimization theme suggests that people orient to the environment in terms of existing information, goals, and expectation; they operate on the environment in an effort to achieve their goals and maintain desired levels of

> satisfaction; they are directly affected by environmental forces; and they evaluate the quality of the environment as a context for future activity and goal attainment (p. 259).

The approach to drinking followed in this discussion presumes that people are active organisms engaged in selection, organization, construction of meaning, and self-regulation. This perspective assumes that drinkers must be considered knowing beings and that the knowledge they possess has important consequences for how they interpret their own actions, feelings, and thoughts. This drinker-centered approach to alcohol studies requires that we understand both how people cognitively represent personally relevant events and situations and how they reflect on them. For example, similar behaviors may have different meanings for an individual at different times as well as different consequences for future action. At the same time, different behaviors may have similar meanings. To understand drinking, one must understand an individual's frame of reference, his or her own systems for monitoring, categorizing, organizing, and understanding personal and environmental experiences, and to comprehend a higher order system that includes these separate systems.

Meanings and actions issue from a body of knowledge and a set of behavioral rules inherent in what we refer to as the self. The self is a cognitive structure or structures, a physical and psychological entity concerned with how individuals perceive themselves, how their perceptions are related, how much significance these perceptions merit, and how they are organized for future use. James (1890) distinguished between the self as the "knower" and the self as the "known." He believed that the individual's stream of consciousness—the active process of experiencing—differed from the "concept of self," the accumulated knowledge about the self's actions, abilities, and desires. Individuals as knowers consider their environment, manipulate information, and conceptualize objects in the world. Individuals focus on themselves, label their behavior, and "objectify" themselves as things to be known and understood. Knowledge of the self is assumed to have a complex set of referents, meanings, and rules governing behavior that account for individual differences.

Because the self can be conceptualized, in part, as a goal-directed process of actions governed by rules, drinking behavior can also be assumed to be purposive, or goal-directed. Although drinkers' capacities for autonomous action are often severely constrained, the locus of control over much drinking must therefore reside initially within the drinkers themselves. Generally, because drinking might be best understood as being constructed purposively by the drinker, it cannot adequately be studied without accounting for the drinker's meanings and purposes.

Drinking meanings are formulated as a response to situations that afford various possibilities for drinking and carry implications for both the past and the future. This contention is supported by highly diverse data:

- Crosscultural studies of alcohol consumption show that prescribed rules for social behavior while drinking contribute more to the determination of responses to drinking low and moderate doses of alcohol than does its pharmacological action (MacAndrew and Edgerton 1969).
- Laboratory studies indicate that expectancies about the effects of alcohol are more important determinants of social and psychological reactions than is alcohol's pharmacological action (Marlatt and Rohsenow 1980).
- Clinical research has firmly established that some problem drinkers can modulate their own drinking (Sobell and Sobell 1978), which suggests that even chronic alcoholics are active agents of their drinking. This finding contrasts sharply with views of alcoholics as passive individuals who lack control over their alcohol consumption.
- Longitudinal research has shown that expressed reasons for drinking predict later drinking and problem drinking (Gaines and Zucker 1980).

These findings indicate that beliefs, intentions, and expectations must be ascribed to the activity of drinking. There is, therefore, a strong need to consider intentions when conceptualizing drinking. The results of these studies are too complex to be understood in terms of mechanistic models or metaphors.

By postulating that drinking alters awareness of the self and the environment and is, therefore, intentional, we propose to reconsider the explanations for drinking provided in drinkers' statements of their drinking motives. These self-reports represent reasons for drinking that are clearly intentional and purposive. Since we are claiming that drinking can be explained in terms of the ends for which people drink, self-reports serve as an index for these goals as they are cognitively represented. Throughout life we develop cognitive representations or schemata of the external environment, of our bodies, of our actions and purpose, and of our psychological selves. According to Neisser (1976), a schema is a structure "internal to the perceiver, modifiable by experience, and somehow specific to what is being perceived. The schema accepts the information as it becomes available and is changed by that information; it directs movement and exploratory activities that make more information available by which it is further modified" (p. 54). Thus, a schema first operates to specify the nature and organization of information that will fit or be picked up. It also operates like a plan or guide for

directing activity relevant to the schema. Most importantly, however, a schema can be viewed not only as the "plan but also as the executor of the plan. It is a pattern of action as well as a pattern for action" (p. 56).

Schemata for drinking, represented in drinking motives, function as feedback loops, forming a bridge between the self and the environment. These schemata are thus a functionally integrated set of links between affective, cognitive, and behavioral components of an individual's drinking in a particular situation. Furthermore, the three components are mutually reinforcing, with an increase in one component increasing the others correspondingly.

The thesis that people drink because they desire to change their self-awareness and self-perception is based on drinkers' statements that they drink to reduce awareness of self-attributes or to increase awareness and enjoyment of the environment. The list of motives compiled by Cahalan, Cisin, and Crossley (1969) in their analysis of American drinking practices indicates that drinkers' major desired states or goals include reducing attention to personal attributes and increasing attention toward external things, e.g., tasks and sources of gratification. Therefore, alcohol use possibly results in a reconfiguration of the phenomenal field and diminished self-awareness. These changes may be caused by the interaction of alcohol and arousal-attentional mechanisms and by individuals' learned abilities to orient to the environment while drinking. Once initiated, these subjective effects of drinking are the product not merely of changes in environmental factors upon self-perception but also of an interchange between the two as parts of an interdependent system.

This reasoning is supported by laboratory studies in which subjects' conscious attention was deliberately modified (Duval and Wicklund 1972). Prominent among the effects of altered attention were (1) negative self-evaluation and negative affect when a person is aware of a self-contradiction or a discrepancy between an ideal and his or her actual state, (2) feelings of control and mastery over the environment when people attend outward, and (3) feelings of less distinctiveness and a diminished sense of separateness from the environment when attending outward. Though these similarities are striking, we do not know whether they represent unrelated phenomena.

Duval and Wicklund's theory of objective self-awareness may illuminate the findings as they relate to alcohol consumption. In sum, people can focus their attention either on an object in the environment or on themselves. An environmental focus is called "subjective self-awareness," with the self as the subject or agent of perception. A subject focus is termed "objective self-awareness," with the self as the object rather than the subject of perception. Although the focus

of attention may oscillate between the self and the environment, Duval and Wicklund assert that a person cannot maintain both states at once.

In a state of subjective self-awareness, individuals focus on the external world of objects, people, and events, aware of the self only as a source of environmental perceptions. The subjectively self-aware person's relationship to the environment will thus be associated with feelings of control and mastery. In a state of objective self-awareness, individuals focus on themselves as objects of attention and on their internal cues and experiences both past and present. Even in this state of objective self-awareness, however, people are not aware of all the elements of the self; they can focus only on a few.

Objective self-awareness may occur because of situational developments or features that cause people to perceive themselves as objects; for example, the reactions of others or other information from the environment that direct their attention onto themselves as actors in that environment. Objective self-awareness requires a direction of attention inward. Subjective self-awareness results from forcing people to engage in activities that shift their focus of attention outward.

What are the consequences of these states? Objective self-awareness is the result of attending inward. In such a state we witness ourselves in the same way that others might, and such examination implies a preexisting standard or standards for behavior and psychological characteristics. When people are aware of a discrepancy between an ideal and their actual state, objective self-awareness will lead to a negative self-evaluation and negative affect. When people are objectively self-aware, they will also attempt to reduce discrepancies within themselves by avoiding conditions leading to the objective self-awareness state. Alcohol can provide this means of avoiding painful self-awareness through the alterations it produces in perception and in the meaning of environmental information.

Although no direct tests of these theoretical propositions are available, the literature on drinking, alcohol abuse, and alcoholism appears consistent with this view of the preeminence of changes in self-awareness caused by drinking. Cross-sectional studies on college students report that heavy drinking is associated with problems in experiencing the self and in exercising self-control. On the basis of self-report instruments, Williams (1965), for example, reported a relationship between heavy drinking and self-rejecting attitudes. One reporting instrument yielded a measure of negative drinking consequences. The other, an adjective checklist, yielded three measures of self-evaluation: a self-acceptance index, a self-criticality index, and an index of correspondence between real self and ideal self. Heavy, abusive drinking was significantly associated with higher scores on

the self-criticality index, lower scores on the self-acceptance index, and lessened correspondence between real self- and ideal self-descriptions.

In a study of black male college students, Maddox (1968) reported that drinking was related to scores on a measure of self-derogation in such a way that subjects categorized as abstainers were least likely to be self-derogatory, lighter drinkers were somewhat more likely to be self-derogatory, and those characterized as heavier drinkers were most likely to be self-derogatory. Kalin (1972) reported that heavy drinking among college students was associated with self-described personality attributes similar to those of alcoholics: tendencies for antisocial behavior; a lively social presence; and difficulty with order, steadiness, and planning.

Because of their design, studies of the relationship between drinking and experience of the self do not show a clear developmental progression from awareness states to behavior; they also allow an interpretation of drinking as the cause, not the outcome, of troubled self-processes. Both longitudinal and experimental intoxication studies, however, support a view of negative self-experience as antecedent to drinking. McGuire, Stein, and Mendelson (1966) compared the attitudes and behavior of chronic alcoholics to those of nonalcoholics before, during, and after experimentally induced intoxication. The predrinking data, gathered through interviews and behavioral observation, indicated that chronic alcoholics expected to exhibit desirable qualities and to evoke positive evaluations from others. In short, intoxication was expected to increase self-enhancing feeling; similar expectations were not noted in the nonalcoholics. Intoxication increased the alcoholics' feelings of self-acceptance following social activity with other alcoholics.

Finally, longitudinal data indicate that antecedent negative self-experience makes drinking more likely to occur later if it is perceived as deviant behavior. Kaplan and Pokorny (1977) predicted that abstaining adolescents would be more likely to report using alcohol a year after undergoing a devaluing experience at school if they tended to devalue normative structures and if they were aware of patterns of deviance. The data did, in fact, support the hypothesis that drinking as a deviant pattern is a response to previous difficulty in self-experience.

An important caveat must be stated. So far, this discussion has implicitly referred to drinkers as if they were randomly sampled from a universe of homogeneous individuals. Actually, there are a wide array of drinkers and drinking styles. Of course, individuals with extensive histories of alcohol abuse and harmful consequences are the most readily observed because of their transactions with

legal, social service, and/or medical agencies. Recently, however, there has emerged a burgeoning interest in multivariate approaches to describing drinkers and drinking behavior (Costello 1979; Wanberg and Horn 1973). Although the theory of drinking suggested here is meant to account for a wide array of drinkers, with quantitative rather than qualitative differences pertinent to different drinking patterns, processes involved in the development and organization of drinking and problem drinking may be different from those that maintain alcoholic drinking.

Situations

The theory of drinking presented here is based on the meaning of situations. Its basic postulate is that drinking changes experience of the self and of the situation(s). People may drink primarily to change their focus of attention away from the self when the self-environment relationship is disrupted. Drinking, in short, is a means of altering awareness as well as sensory states. The consequences of drinking, however, depend on the schema initially used to interpret situations and determine their appropriateness for drinking behavior. Such a view borrows from general systems theory, which assumes that human behavior may be analyzed on several levels simultaneously. Each component of a system, furthermore, interacts with other components so that a change in one component at one level produces corresponding changes in others. Thus, our systems approach employs diverse variables to examine both meanings and situations as results of complex interactions within a larger system.

This theory assumes that drinking occurs because of the way a drinker defines a particular situation. We assume that purposive action issues from connotations of a situation that may be entirely unrelated to the factors that are necessary for physical actions. It is these connotative meanings that determine the situation's appropriate explanation for the drinker, its meaning.

Because people can control their behavior in accordance with specific interests in particular situations and can also provide meaningful explanations for their activities, we as observers can schematize their actions as subject to definable rules. Although these rules are goal-oriented propositions that guide action, they need not be consciously understood to be effective. Adult speakers of a language can follow a particular rule if it is clearly described to them, but, in general, rules need not be articulated in order to be followed. According to this view of action as a function of the rules by which a

situation is conceptualized, drinking takes place because of a situation's formulated meaning and rule-governed significance. We will use Ball's (1972) definition of situation:

> The definition of the situation may be conceived as the sum of all recognized information, from the point-of-view of the actor, which is relevant to his locating himself and others so that he can engage in self-determined lines of action and interaction. It includes objects of both physical and social environment; his own internal states both mental and physical; historical data, e.g., biographies, knowledge of similar prior occurrences, and the like; and predictions and expectations about the character of events to follow (p. 63).

Although situations may convey meaningful information to observers, the meaning of a concrete action is derived from its meaning for the person and its utility in a specific, problematic situation. Experience of the self depends on a capacity to monitor one's own subjectivity. In observing their inner states, people simultaneously define the external world in terms of their immediate perceptions. Thus, the environment is perceived by means of a process that relates subject to object. It follows, according to the basic postulate, that the sense of self is the essential requirement for the person's definition of a situation as relevant to drinking.

This definition of situation vis-a-vis the self is compatible with constructivist models of perception and intended meaningful behavior (cf. Miller, Galanter, and Pribram 1960; Neisser 1967, 1976; Powers 1973). According to these approaches, perception is not a passive process of registration; people modify the process of perception and try to maintain incoming stimulation in conformity with their expectations. Instead of defining an object or situation as a configuration of physical stimuli, we define an object or situation as a construction from rules which, in turn, relate to other rules for governing activity according to the situation's definition.

Although this process of defining a situation is a constructivist one, it requires behavioral as well as cognitive activity. Drinking and perceptual processes must be related if drinking is the outcome of a system involving person and environment. If a situation is to be related to drinking, a drinker must perceive in situational information a reason and an opportunity to alter self-awareness. People often construct definitions, however, that are inappropriate in a particular situation and attempt to shape situations to their antecedent definitions. This assimilation may require active modifying of settings or moving to a setting more conducive to drinking. For example, Tokar et al. (1973) reported that when alcoholics had feelings of dependency, depression, anger, or anxiety, they said that they saw their bartender, drank alcohol, smoked, and/or took pills. If they felt "on top of the world," they ate, drank milk, and withdrew. When they were relaxed, they kept busy or went to bed.

We have argued that the theoretical significance of situations for alcohol studies must be examined in terms of the meaning and purpose afforded by drinking in different situations. Situations can precipitate drinking because of how they are initially construed. Conversely, consequences feed back on the drinker, and situations can influence further drinking. These effects operate and perpetuate themselves through affective, behavioral, and cognitive feedback and become preconditions for subsequent perceptions and drinking. Different situational dimensions may characterize and differentiate the drinking motives of different individuals (Blane 1968; McClelland et al. 1972).

Based on available data, what types of situational variables appear to contribute to drinking motives and drinking activity? Clearly, it is not easy to explain why some people drink, even at the risk of long-term negative consequences, and others do not. We can surmise, however, that social-interpersonal environments play a major role since much drinking is the result of social stimulation that channels attention to the self (Harford 1979; Rosenbluth, Nathan, and Lawson 1978).

Russell and Bond (1980) studied the relationship between beliefs about alcohol's beneficial effect on either an unpleasant or pleasant emotional state and the desire to drink in pleasant or unpleasant settings. Approximately two-thirds of the alcoholic subjects believed that drinking would compensate for unpleasant feelings, and one-third believed that alcohol exaggerated existent feelings. Unlike the alcoholics, a majority of college students believed that alcohol magnified their feelings. For both groups, people who believed in drinking while in a pleasant state were more likely to want to drink in or soon after being in pleasant settings. Similarly, subjects who believed in the compensating nature of drinking were more likely to want to drink in or after being in an unpleasant setting. In conclusion, beliefs about the goals of drinking and the emotional quality of settings mutually influence the desire to drink in those settings.

Experimental investigations of the effects of social stimulation on nonproblem drinkers' alcohol consumption provide information on social conditions and drinking. Caudill and Marlatt (1975) found that when male student social drinkers were engaged in an alcohol taste-rating task under nonstressful conditions in the presence of an experimental confederate, they tended to emulate the drinking behavior of the confederate. The quality of interaction with the confederate before the taste-rating task had no influence on consumption.

In a study that also used a taste-rating task, Lied and Marlatt (1977) found that young male heavy social drinkers are most likely to drink more heavily in the presence of a heavy-drinking model. In this study, both male and female subjects were divided into heavy and

light drinkers, based on their responses to a drinking habits questionnaire, and were exposed to either a heavy- or a light-drinking model of the same sex. Subjects exposed to the light-drinking model consumed little alcohol during the taste-rating task. Response to the heavy-drinking model was more variable: Light social drinkers showed a small but statistically nonsignificant increase in consumption when their partner was a heavy drinker, and male heavy social drinkers consumed almost three times as much wine when exposed to the heavy-drinking model. Under more naturalistic conditions, in which the subject had a prolonged relationship with the model, Garlington and DeRicco (1977) demonstrated that male normal drinkers drank more when an experimental confederate drank along with them. Finally, a review of empirical literature on social factors and drinking (Griffiths, Bigelow, and Liebson 1978) concludes that the available data indicate no difference in the reactions of alcoholics and nonalcoholics to social influences.

The studies just reviewed indicate that predominantly young social- and heavy-drinking males will consume more alcohol when they are in the presence of a heavy-drinking model or when they anticipate an evaluation by others. Marlatt, Kosturn, and Lang (1975) conducted an investigation in which subjects were first provoked to anger through social insult and then given various means for reducing their anger. In two experimental conditions, subjects were deliberately criticized and angered by a confederate subject before participating in a taste-rating task. A third group served as nonangered controls. The subjects in one of the angered groups were allowed to express their anger toward the confederate subject who had insulted them, but subjects in the other angered group were not given a chance to retaliate. Angered subjects in the nonretaliating group consumed the most wine in their taste-rating task. Subjects who could express anger against the confederate subject showed a significant decrease in consumption relative to those who could not.

The implications of these situational processes for future drinking behavior, however, have not been carefully examined. While the experimental studies of modeling, anticipated social evaluation, and anger provocation have demonstrated the importance of situational processes to drinking, they have not examined the effects of drinking on subsequent responses to self or others. Interaction between the drinker and the social context characterizes many drinking situations that occur over time. The results of the interaction might be to redefine the situation and, thus, alter the likelihood of further drinking.

What is known about the experimental effects of drinking on social behavior? Lang et al. (1975) informed subjects that they would be consuming either an alcoholic or a nonalcoholic beverage. Subjects

then received either alcohol or tonic. Following the beverage administration, half of the subjects in each condition were provoked to anger by an experimental confederate while the other subjects experienced a neutral interaction. Subjects then administered what they were told were electrical shocks to the experimental confederate. Based on measures of the intensity and duration of the shock, the authors reported that the only independent variables significantly related to increased aggression were the anger provocation manipulation and the expectancy of having consumed alcohol. Subjects who believed they had consumed alcohol were more aggressive than subjects who believed they had consumed a nonalcoholic beverage. This effect occurred regardless of whether the drinks actually contained alcohol. Unfortunately, this study of the effects of drinking on social behavior failed to assess the affective and cognitive psychological states that preceded drinking. Thus, it is not clear whether a person's preexisting state influences this display of increased aggression following alcohol consumption.

While the studies of situational effects on drinking and drinking effects on social behavior have indicated that interpersonal settings can be important to the instigation and operation of drinking, they are characterized by some important omissions. First, these studies fail to take account of the temporal nature of drinking. Even though they are concerned with a fairly wide range of dependent variables (Connors 1979), these studies are truncated because their designs primarily allow drinkers to perceive themselves as drinking in response to situational factors while not measuring feedback they may experience. We must ask ourselves, for example, how are drinkers' experiences changed as a function of drinking? Analogue studies of drinking, in which drinking is stripped of its context, seem to be concerned with merely one phase of an ongoing instrumental sequence of activity that changes how the drinker and environment are related. Drinking is not a passive reaction to a given stimulus situation; rather, it is a transaction between the person and the environment so that the activity itself gives meaning to the situation. Most experimental studies of drinking have failed to examine the experiential changes related to drinking-specific events—e.g., affects, behaviors, and thoughts. There has been no examination of stimulation serving to negate or inhibit feedback to terminate the sequence brought into action by situational information. Multiple-drink studies of the effects of drinking on drinking schemata are needed.

Laboratory studies of situational influences on drinking have not considered factors within the drinker. People differ in their orientation to their environments; this orientation is commonly referred to as their cognitive structures or styles (cf. Bieri 1971; Schroder, Driver, and Streufert 1968). These structures act as filters that select

certain kinds of information from the environment, then pattern or integrate the information in some characteristic fashion, and moderate or control a person's behavior in different situations. These differences are shown in the ways people anticipate situations (Gaines, Smith, and Skolnick 1977; Lapidus 1969) and experience feedback (Dronsenko 1972). Differences in orientation are directly relevant to alcohol studies because of findings from varied investigators that alcoholics' perception of the world tends to be strongly dominated by the prevailing field (Goldstein 1976); alcoholics seem less able to perceptually articulate various aspects of their experience. Such a field-dependent way of perceiving also implies a less differentiated, more passive conformity to the prevailing field (Witkin et al. 1962). The self-awareness theory of drinking suggests that psychological differentiation/nondifferentiation should influence drinkers' reactions to situational conditions that both affect their ongoing awareness states and evoke a desire to alter their states. The subjects in most laboratory studies of social stimulation and drinking have been male undergraduates who are likely to be psychologically differentiated; i.e., possess more diverse conceptual means of registering and coding experience. Such an array of encoding mechanisms both requires a more active and deliberate selection process and, through the exercise of that selectivity, implies a greater degree of cognitive autonomy; i.e., a lesser degree of determinism by the environment. They should experience a sense of mastery and control over the environment when analytically attending towards it. However, they are more likely to be disrupted by being made the object of social stimulation.

People who are generally more attentive to social stimulation and who yield to irrelevant background distractions—i.e., those that are psychologically nondifferentiated—should be less disturbed by conditions that elicit objective self-awareness or an increased attention to the self. When people seek either to diminish or heighten a mood, they may attempt to cause these desired mood changes by modifying their transactions with the environment. These assumptions about drinkers and their subjective experience of the relationship between self and environment may help explain why people vary in their desire to drink in settings that are more or less reflective of the self. For example, settings with little social feedback—those conducive to subjective self-awareness—may strongly motivate less differentiated persons, who drink to diminish their sense of incongruence with preferred awareness states. More differentiated persons, however, may have an increased desire to drink in situations where they perceive themselves as objects of attention; i.e., situations in which they experience objective self-awareness.

Conclusion

This discussion has proposed a theory of drinking based on the meaning of situations to the drinker. Its approach is tentative, however, and does not represent a final statement of such a theory. Although other theories of interaction exist (Jessor et al. 1968; Zucker 1979), they do not specify how a person and a situation are linked through drinking. Self-awareness theory postulates that drinking occurs in an effort to harmonize subjective states and desired states that are situationally related. Situations that require attention to the self are likely to engender a desire to drink in people for whom such self-attention is aversive and who desire instead to orient themselves outward. The goals of drinking, whether to magnify or modify subjective states, are pursued according to rules revealed in expressed motives for drinking.

An important feature of this theory is its focus on environmental influences on self-perception. Since drinking contexts are critical factors in reasons for drinking and in the act itself, future studies on the determinants of drinking must consider environmental and personal factors on equal phenomenological terms.

As the major explanatory construct of the self-awareness theory of drinking is the meaning of the situation to the drinker, the theory should stimulate alcohol studies concerned with investigating the interpretive process that may foster implicit rules of drinking. The research paradigm required for this theory would study human beings as cognitive individuals; i.e., as plan-making, self-monitored agents who are aware of emerging goals and capable of deliberately considering the best ways of achieving them. The research methods employed should integrate heuristically important ethnomethodologic, survey, and experimental approaches since such synthesis reduces the likelihood that a particular method or procedure will significantly distort the phenomenon under investigation.

Intentional explanations are the only means for understanding drinking; they are complex enough to accommodate the complexity of the phenomenon itself. Drinkers are autonomous agents in their transactions with the environment. Whatever the results of future research on the genetic and biochemical basis of alcohol's effects, people will still have to form the intention and perform the act of buying and drinking alcohol before physiological predispositions can be considered relevant to drinking outcomes. A decision to drink will always be the first necessary condition for a consideration of alcohol's effects.

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Managing Competence: An Ethnographic Study of Drinking-Driving and the Context of Bars

Joseph R. Gusfield*

Introduction

Risk and uncertainty are a normal feature of everyday life. The individual recognizes the riskiness of crossing the street, of handling cooking equipment on a hot stove, and of leaning out of windows. Drinking alcoholic beverages and driving automobiles are both in a class of actions commonly seen as fraught with considerable risk to personal interaction, to health, and to property. The potentials of violence, accident, embarrassment, and economic loss are always present in the tangible possibility that drinking will lead to drunkenness and driving to accidents. The people we observed are not unique in recognizing these risks. Nor do we believe they are unique in treating them as normal occurrences; risks to be coped with but not, on that account, to be avoided.

Our focus in this study is on the nexus of the two risks—of drinking *and* driving. It is common sense that the combination of the two is inherently riskier than driving sober. How that insight affects behavior, however, is not a logical or direct deduction from the abstract character of such generalized understanding. It is, instead, an emerging, situated aspect of behavior; one that arises in a particular setting where there is interaction with other people and alternative possibilities for transportation. It is less likely to be faced as a problem through planned and anticipated routines than as a problem handled only when and how it arises.

Our ethnographic study is a study of the settings in which the phenomenon of drinking arises and in which the nexus between drinking and driving emerges, is seen as problematic, and is handled. Both

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the practical alternatives and the normative features—the shared standards for behavior—are also products of the settings.

In our observations, the behavior of individuals was deeply influenced by the ways they were controlled by aspects of the settings in bars. The bars we observed differed in several significant ways as environments for the control of drinking and of the drinking-driving nexus. We have conceptualized these in terms of three major sources of control over drinking and the handling of driving: the self, the peer group of significant others, and the bar manager (or bartender). In understanding how each of these systems of control operates, the unique features of each type of bar are essential. These control systems operate to limit or enhance the incidence of driving while under the influence of alcohol.

Ethnographic accounts do not fit well with the character of programs, conferences, symposia, and academic journals that make up the current institutional pattern of presenting knowledge. Dependent on "thick description" and the complexity of specific events, they resist summarization, modeling, and propositional conclusions. They are communicated within the body of text, as are other art forms. This paper is a compromise. We have already and will continue to hint at the large body of description and thought that constitutes the total study. To provide a window on the study and to develop a topic of discussion we have presented here, in full, one part of the study—"Competent Drinking: The Defense of the Self."

What is essential as prelude, however, is a brief, truncated description of sites.

This is a study of the drinking-driving phenomena as it emerged in the naturalistic settings of four bars in San Diego between November 1977 and January 1978 in about 100 hours of observation. It is an ethnographic study of drinking-driving as a topic of conversation, as behavior, and as a response to queries initiated by the observers. The four bars, each of which has been given a pseudonym, differed in several respects:

"The Club." The Club is close to what other bar typologies call a "neighborhood bar," although many or most customers drive to it. Located in a small shopping center in a northern suburb of San Diego City, it is a comparatively small bar whose decor is neither memorable nor noticeable. Much of the "action" in the room comes from a group of regulars who are there most evenings and for whom the bar is a home away from home. Its customers appear to be blue-collar workers, although far from exclusively. Not entirely a male bar, it is dominantly such. It is the gang of regular customers and their relations with the bartender, who is in many respects one of the gang,

that we emphasize in observations and in the cover name, The Club. Stability, sameness, and hominess are its mark.

"*Friendly Al's.*" This is also a neighborhood bar, although most customers drive to it. Unlike The Club, couples are much more in evidence, and the customers seem to be more a mix of blue-collar and lower white-collar workers. While the regulars at The Club are in their late twenties and thirties with a few older members, at Friendly Al's the age range is broader, although the young singles group (under 25 years) is conspicuously absent. Unlike The Club, many "loners" come into Al's. It is a larger room and situated on a major San Diego thoroughfare several miles from the city center. It is regularly patrolled by the San Diego special police squad concerned with drinking-driving. In Al's, the bartender is the fulcrum around whom activities emerge. Neither The Club nor Friendly Al's features performed entertainment, although Al's has several slot machines and a pool table.

"*That Place.*" The cover name suggests the anonymity of this very large, two-story establishment. Here the customers are almost exclusively young unmarried males and females. The customers and personnel we talked with all consider it to be a singles bar. It is located in a section of the city with many bars, restaurants, and shopping, and the area is lively well after the rest of the city has gone to sleep. (The police consider this area to be their best source for finding drinking-driving offenders.) The decor of the rooms is flamboyantly funky. That Place is usually crowded, noisy, and moving with the beat of music, dancing, and people coming and going. The bartenders and waiters-waitresses have neither the time nor the physical setting with which to observe clientele or manage activities. There is a bouncer at each of the two entrances and exits. The bouncers' major function is to check the age of customers and screen out minors (under 21 years). What we emphasize in That Place is the absence of management and the lack of a core of regulars in some organized relationship to staff personnel.

"*The Hermitage.*" The Hermitage is located in a large building at the edge of a major shopping center just off the expressway exit of a northern suburb of San Diego. A major racetrack is on the other side of the expressway. It is both a restaurant and a separate barroom. The decor is patterned to resemble a home of wealth and upper-class taste. It is carpeted and has tables and upholstered chairs. The customers are wealthier in dress, generally older, and more subdued than in the other bars. (As the bartender remarked, "These are nice people. They give you no hassles.") The scene changes somewhat on Saturday nights when there is a dance band, but it continues to reflect the atmosphere of a cocktail lounge rather than of a bar. Although

The Hermitage and That Place have dissimilar physical settings and appeal to very different clientele, they are alike in that in both of these settings, the customers are the major source of normative controls over their own behavior. In both, the bartender and staff are limited in what they can do to influence behavior and to limit drinking and driving. In neither is there a core of regular customers or a bartender who defines and directs action.

It is possible to conceive of these drinking establishments as different sites of social influence and control. Patrons may, and generally do, drive to them and from them. Each type of bar is a different kind of context within which the self, the peer, and the management affect behavior. The Club is a place in which a group of friends spend a great deal of their leisure; they *are* the setting and the management is one of them. At Friendly Al's, either Al or his hired bartender is the central part of the setting. That Place and The Hermitage are less active sources of potential influence. There the management serves drinks and gets out of the way, providing a setting for the patrons to do "their own thing." How these affect the connection between drinking and driving is the substance of this part of the study.

Competent Drinking: The Defense of the Self

Presentation of Self

Studies of drinking patterns usually distinguish between quantities consumed identifying drinkers by some typology of heavy, moderate, light, and abstaining (Cahalan, Cisin, and Crossley 1969). We have found it more useful to use a classification that has emerged from our observations. It points not to the amounts that drinkers consume, but to how they behave in response to their drinking. This distinction—between competent and incompetent drinkers—first came to the attention of one of us in observing blue-collar workers in Chicago bars. It was also apparent to us in the San Diego observations (Kotarba 1977). It is a distinction essential to the understanding of how, among those we observed, many conceived the drinking and driving event in relation to the investment of the self in that phenomenon.

Before presenting our materials, we think it is necessary to explain the underlying perspective used. In part this perspective is derived from a general theoretical perspective in use among sociologists and

social psychologists; in part it has arisen during the perusal and discussion of our materials; and in part it emerges as we write these words.

The notion of the human self as reflexive, as an object to itself, is an old idea in sociology, captured and elucidated by the "old masters," George Herbert Mead and Charles Cooley. It has also been given more recent implication in the rising interest in reflexivity discussed in the work of Alfred Schutz. The root idea is that one's self is an object about which the human being can think and feel. An individual can experience self-love, self-hate, embarrassment, or pride in the imagination of the responses and interpretations of his or her behavior as perceived by others. This interactive and reflexive aspect of human life emerges in a web of interpretations of the meaning of events for the maintenance of the self-concept of the social members involved.

In the past two decades sociologists and social psychologists have given this orientation considerable attention by examining how members attempt to control and influence the concepts that others have about them and how external events impinge on such self-concepts. The primary influence on both study and thought has been the work of Erving Goffman. The title of his first major work, *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life*, indicates the primary thrust of the interest in modes by which members attempt to manage the self-impression conveyed by their actions.

> I shall consider the way in which the individual in ordinary work situations presents himself and his activity to others, the ways in which he guides and controls the impression they form of him, and the kind of things he may and may not do while sustaining his performance before them (Goffman 1956, unnumbered preface page).

The general perspective outlined above is linked to the drinking-driving phenomena and the instant study by the concepts of ordinary risk and exculpatory defenses. These provide the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of this section of the report.

The fact that drinking and driving are customarily seen as involving behavior containing risk does not deter competent persons from engaging in these activities. Rather, one determination of the competence of people in American society is their ability to undertake ordinary risks. Adult Americans who cannot or do not drive an automobile display a lack of competence to cope adequately with ordinary risk. Members of a drinking group who refuse drinks display incompetence in drinking. So, too, do those who engage in ordinary risks and fail to deal with the risks competently; those who cause accidents, create embarrassment, or hurt themselves or others; and those who are unable to perform the needed and expected routine acts

of the daily agenda. It is in how the individual handles the risks of drinking and driving and of drinking-driving that the self is presented and one's moral status performed.

Many people often fail at the tasks of social assignments. "To err is human. . . ." People drink too much and make trouble for themselves and others. People drive badly and create accidents. All of us must face a world of audiences before whom we forget our lines, appear unclothed, and miss cues.

However, the self is protected from the onus of incompetence by a series of acceptable excuses for poor performance. Borrowing a legal term, we call these "exculpatory defenses," defenses which excuse an otherwise illegal act from punishment (Hart 1968, chap. 2). Among these are self-defense, insanity, duress, and, most recently, alcohol addiction. To be able to say acceptably, "I wasn't myself," is a normal and ordinary defense against the opprobrium of being labeled incompetent and unworthy. Illness in this society is one form of acceptable defense against the label of incompetence for not being at work or for performing poorly (Parsons and Fox 1952).

The combination of drinking and driving is a normal event in our observations and in American society. Roadside stop studies indicate that for every motorist arrested for Driving Under the Influence of Alcohol, there are 2,000 motorists with blood alcohol level scores above the legal limit (U.S. Department of Transportation 1974, p. 2). In our observations, most bar customers, whatever the amount they had consumed or their state of intoxication, drove to and from the site without occasioning comment by themselves, other patrons, or the bartenders. It is a normal event in the lives of bar patrons. The failure to drive after drinking is the event that needs to be explained.

Listening to excuses is an important methodological device. It is the nature of norms that, being understood and taken for granted, they are not verbalized. Excuses are ways of accounting for unusual behavior. Therefore, they indicate, by inference, behavior that is regarded as usual and not needing comment.

Understanding how the self is presented and defended is not only important in its own right but is also a needed prelude to understanding how these systems of self-presentation operate in the different settings engendered by the bar types described in this study.

Presentation of Competent Drinking

Our observations of tavern patrons have led us to posit a dual system in the display of competence in drinking. The model of competent drinkers is those persons who can drink in accordance with the standards of the setting and the group of which they are a part; they can "hold their own." Having done so, they do not create trouble

or provide embarrassment for self or others, and they can manage themselves and their own transportation without causing accident or arrest. But when drinkers become intoxicated, they risk the loss of their competence. It is not incompetent to limit drinking or to avoid driving as long as the drinkers can indicate that the determination of the state of incompetence is *their* self-recognition—that it is not forced upon them. Displaying self-understanding of incompetence is a display of competence.

Drinking is itself evidence of meeting the demands of social membership. The amount and kind of alcohol used testifies to the social adequacy of the member. George, a central figure in the heavy drinking group that frequents The Club, is 35 years old, unmarried, and employed at a supermarket where he is in charge of fruits and vegetables. George comes to The Club almost every night and stays between three and four hours. Ordinarily a heavy drinker of beer, or of whiskey, or both, sometimes he leaves early or drinks less than is usual. He says then that he must go to work early the next day. This "excuse" indicates that his norm demands keeping up as the mark of adequacy. George is part of the regulars at The Club who buy drinks by the round. One person orders drinks for the whole group and then pays for all of them. A little later, it is the turn of another member, and so on. On one occasion, a "kid," aged 24, entered into the round-buying. The observer reports:

> I was drinking a gin and tonic and George was drinking a screwdriver (orange juice and gin). The kid was getting drunk—it was pretty obvious by his slouching in the chair; he started slurring words and turning beet red. I was getting a backlog of drinks since we were buying rounds and this guy was drinking so fast. My drinks were two-deep and George had one-deep. George noticed the guy was getting drunk and commented that he had better slow down because he was getting drunk and to sort of space it out more. The guy continued to drink although he did slow down and mostly talked about his past in the military and working as a horse trainer (*The Club, 5-2*).[1]

George regards himself as one who can drink a lot and yet "hold his liquor." On another occasion, when Paul, the observer, fell behind in drinking, George regarded it as a sign that Paul was getting drunk. George insisted that he drive Paul's car.

Drinking at the level of the crowd without displaying incompetence is essential. It is this consideration that makes the issue of the bartender's refusal to serve drinks to a customer a significant source of antagonism and conflict.

Behavior after drinking is another sign of adequacy. Not the fact of drunkenness but the nature of comportment and its possible interpretation as improper drunken behavior constitutes the delinquency.

[1] The numbered citations, e.g. 5–2, used throughout the text, refer to observers' field notes.

On one occasion a young man came into The Club looking as if he had slept in his clothes. George said, "This guy is drunk." He explained that when this man is sober, he is "the nicest guy you'd ever want to meet," but when drunk he is rude, offensive, and "very embarrassing to the management." Ed, the bartender, talked to him and he left. Ed then explained that they had an understanding. The customer was allowed to stay for short periods of time as long as he did not drink. This was clearly an example of an incompetent drinker. Jim, George's roommate, had decided not to to The Club again. One night the previous week he had become extremely intoxicated and had "made a fool of himself." Again a sense of incompetence is illustrated.

Driving after drinking is part of the test of competence. In all the bars we observed, we were struck by the limited discussion of drinking-driving and the normal occurrence of it. The issue arose only in certain situations. When a drinker was bluntly told that he or she was in no condition to drive, the drinker was held up to an audience as incompetent. At Friendly Al's one night, a couple in their late fifties were leaving the bar about 1:55 a.m.

> The man was making a lot of noise, laughing and hollering on his way out. The young bartender hollered over to him to be careful and to take it easy. The man stoically said that he was okay, that *he "can take care of himself"* (authors' italics). In hearing this, his wife laughed loudly and said that her husband was okay because she was doing the driving. The husband gave her a stern look as if embarrassed at her statement about his condition. *(Friendly Al's:15-5).*

On another occasion at Al's, a customer seemed to his companions to be too intoxicated to drive. He rose to leave, and as he staggered off the barstool, one of the women yelled that he should call a taxi. "Jim insisted that he was okay and able to drive home." The two women at the bar laughed and said that he "was really drunker than he figured." The female bartender entered the conversation and laughingly said that he was "too young a man to take a cab home" *(23-2)*. Here age appears related to norms of competence. As we see later, older people can excuse incompetence in ways that younger people cannot; the self is undamaged by that act (or perhaps the self is already damaged by age).

Recognition of Incompetence

In saying that Jim was drunker than he claimed to be, the women at the bar were also derogating Jim's capacity of self-recognition of his incompetence, declaring him incompetent to recognize risks. The oft-repeated statement, "I know when I've had enough," is drinkers' insistence that they can manage risks and can distinguish between health and illness.

The following conversation, overheard in Friendly Al's one night, contains both the ingredient of the norm of competent drinking and the self-recognition that the drinker is in too risky a state to drive and can admit it. Notice how the state of incompetence is used to present the drinker as competent in reaching that state:

> *First man:* You really are driving home tonight.
>
> *Second man:* No, I ain't. . . . You're the one who's drinking ginger ale. You gotta take care of your buddy, even when you don't have the guts to take care of him by drinking with him.
>
> *First man:* Don't worry, I'll get you home, I wouldn't strand you on the street at this time of night, would I? *(22-2).*

The bartender at The Hermitage used a similar typology of competence to distinguish inabilities for risk. He differentiated between those customers for whom he feels he needs to call cabs and "good customers who know when to quit drinking or know when to call a cab for themselves." Whereas, in the first instance, the bartender decides how competent the customers are, in the second case customers can "control their drinking and be aware of their incapacities" (*The Hermitage: 30-2, 3*).

We had expected that the breathalyzer machine at Friendly Al's would be used extensively to provide self-evaluation of the drinker's risk. That was not so. Several evenings it was not used at all. In 3- and 4-hour observational periods, we never saw it used more than three or four times. Never did we see it used at closing time. In steering conversation at Al's toward discussion of the breathalyzer machine, our observer met with a discounting of its value. It threatens the image of self-knowledge by which drinkers present themselves as adequate.

I asked Marty, one of our observers, if he had ever used the breathalyzer machine. He laughed and said that *he did not need a machine like that to tell him how much alcohol he has had* (authors' italics) (*13-5*). A little later Marty used the machine after his fourth drink. It registered a .11, and the machine displayed a large skull and crossbones in red, accompanied by a loud noise. Marty was embarrassed:

> As I sat back down, Frank, a customer, laughed and said to me, "Well, it looks like you'd better stay off the booze for a while." Then he told me not to worry about it; that it's only a machine and that I looked as if I could handle a lot more booze than he saw me drink that afternoon. *(13-5).*

The machine embarrasses when it contradicts drinkers' self-judgments of their state of risk-acceptance. As asserted above, drinking and driving is the normal way in which drinkers deal with getting to and from sites—from bar to bar or from bar to a home. Experience shows that drinkers rarely incur accidents or arrests when they drive after having been drinking. They demonstrate their competence by

recognizing their ability to drive and to know when they are in danger—when they ought not to drive or should take special precautions. Even George, at The Club, who takes pride in his ability to hold his liquor, asked the observer to do the driving one night, admitting that he had drunk too much liquor. As one informant at That Place remarked, "Guys who get themselves in trouble while they're drinking and driving are just plain dumb and don't know how to handle themselves" (*Observer's notes, 25-3*).

Are the studies of drinking and driving on which legislation is based really incorrect? Are drinking and driving not dangerous? In part, the distinction must be made between risky events and riskier events. While increased amounts of alcohol, after a point, raise the risks of accident as compared to sobriety, the possibility of any single event ending in accident remains small (Borkenstein et al. 1964; Cameron and Room 1978; Zylman 1975). Faced with practical contingencies of transportation, the attitude of drinkers is not without a rational basis. Faced with the practical problem of getting from one place to another, their experience tells them that usually they will be able to drive without adverse outcomes. They display their competence by showing that they have not exceeded a state of intoxication in which risk is no longer reasonable and that when they do exceed this point, they can recognize it and act like a sensibly intoxicated person should in a situation of greatly heightened risk.

There is another aspect, however. Riding with the San Diego Police Department's Drinking-Driver Squad several years ago, one of us became aware that one rule-of-thumb used by some police to detect drinking-drivers was to look for overly careful drivers. The premise is that drivers who know they are "under the influence" adjust their driving to allow for their insobriety. This tendency does exist among those we observed. In conversations about drinking-driving, some maintained that they were good drivers and did nothing special, although one said that he did drive particularly carefully because he was driving his friend's car. Among some drinking drivers there is great pride in the ability to drive while under the influence. The bouncer at That Place commented on his customers:

> . . . he said that he had never called a cab for a customer. . . . Most of the guys who come into That Place pride themselves on being good drivers, even when they're totally loaded. . . . You just have to look at their "wheels". . . . Some of them do a lot of racing, on and off the road. . . . It's kind of a touchy thing to talk to a customer about his ability to drive home, whether or not he's drunk or sober. . . . He thought that even some of the customers who are really drunked up have very little trouble driving home because of their expertise behind the wheel (*That Place, 27-2*).

In observations of blue-collar bars in Chicago, one of us (Kotarba 1977) found a great deal of discussion of how to drive after drinking

and how to avoid police. We had hoped in the San Diego study to gain knowledge of how drinkers adjust their driving to the self-recognition of being under the influence of alcohol, and how they recognize when they are competent to drive, when they need to adjust their driving, and when they should avoid driving. "Taking care" is a frequently used term whose operational meaning is seldom specified. Minimizing "normal" risks appears in occasional references to driving slower and to attending to rules. If there is a culture of the art of drinking-driving, we were unable to find it. It is ironic that in all the vast research and writing on drinking-driving, no study has attempted to find out how people *do* drive after drinking.

There is one exception: We did find some mention of techniques for avoiding police arrest. Given the belief that competent people can cope with the drinking-driver problem, arrest is a comment on competence. The implicit assumption is that adequate drinkers do not get caught. Driving along sidestreets, driving slowly on streets where traffic makes the presence of police difficult to spot, avoiding "jerkiness" in driving, and staying inside the lanes are various methods of avoiding detection for drinkers who regard themselves as being under the influence of alcohol.

Throughout our observations, when the topic of drinking-driving emerged in conversation, it did so only in response to a particular occasion—a person who was thought to be in an especially dangerous state, a history of arrests, a group (women, aged, handicapped) who required special consideration. The norm of competence and self-recognition of limits makes the drinking-driving event a normal, taken-for-granted event and adjunct to other activities. The risk is understood but it is the risk that normal, adequate people cope with. In the following colloquy between one of our observers and a 21-year-old sailor at That Place, the elements of drinking-driving are subordinated and set within a frame of other activities. To this sailor, trouble with driving after drinking is a gross display of incompetence; it is the self derogated:

> (Bill comes into That Place once or so a week. He says that he also spends a lot of time at other, smaller bars in the general area. He uses a friend's car.)
>
> Bill said that the sailors are regularly briefed by the brass about problems with police and bars and so forth. He said that very few of the sailors really pay much mind to these briefings. . . . The sailors don't really have much choice in either drinking or not drinking or not driving. . . . Most of the guys had one thing on their minds—[sex]. He said that there is really not much else to do around San Diego besides hopefully looking for women and drinking. . . . The guys just won't give that up. . . . He later said that its no big deal to be concerned about drinking and driving while being stationed in San Diego. . . . You just have to be smart and look out for yourself like you have to do in all other places in San Diego. . . . A sailor will get ripped off if he just stays down on Broadway [main downtown street] and that the same guy who gets ripped off by the [prostitutes] on Broadway and

the shopkeepers on Broadway are the guys who are going to be stopped by the police for something as dumb as drunk-driving (*That Place: 28-3*).

Exculpatory Defenses: Protecting the Competent Self

Our method is the reverse of the traditional question in drinking and driving studies. Our question is not "Why do people drink and drive?" That formulation makes the illegal act the deviant and problematic one. Instead we are operating from the premise which our observations support: *Not* driving after drinking is the deviant and problematic act. What is to be explained is: Why *don't* people drink and drive? Action that accords with law and public, official norms is the problem, the behavior that, in this case, cries for explanation.

The drinkers, their friends, and the bartenders in our study never were observed explaining their driving unless they were challenged or advised to forego driving. It is the abnormal act that must be defended—the threat of being presented as incompetent that must be coped with. It is here that exculpatory defenses, legitimate excuses, come into use. They permit users to avoid the drinking-driving situation and yet to display themselves as adequate drinkers who are able to cope with the responsibilities entailed by engaging in the risk of drinking in a sober world.

In examining excuses, we are interested in the typologies by which those whom we observe understand and observe their own behavior. Our interest is in answering the question: Are there ways in which drinkers can avoid driving and yet retain the display of adequate drinking ability? Such ways indicate the existence of typologies within the culture and available to persons. It does not indicate either the range of availability—to whom and where—nor the incidence of the use of such typologies (Frake 1969). For example, we found that past arrest for drinking-driving was a legitimate excuse for not driving, or for calling a taxi, or for allowing others to drive. This does not mean that past offenders do not drink and drive; or that they customarily avoid driving: We observed several situations in which drinkers we knew to be past offenders did drink and drive. What it does mean is that past offenders can preserve the display of self-competence even though they avoid driving.

In the material above we posited two model cases. In one, the competent drinker demonstrates that he can both drink and drive. The bartender at The Hermitage summed it up in explaining why he is unconcerned about an older customer who drinks heavily throughout the day: "Men must be responsible for their own drinking" (*33-6*). In the second case, the drinker recognizes his drinking has made him

incompetent and admits it. Samuel, a frequent customer at The Club, is not a chronic drunk but when he does become intoxicated, he comes close to passing out. He allows himself to be driven home by others without resistance.

The second model, however, has several difficulties as a display of self and as a practical way of behavior. It depends on self-recognition, and thus has ambiguity, and it does lessen the display of competence. It is a second level of competence. Other excuses also exist and are in use.

Reliable people can meet their self-responsibilities in assuming risk. When they are responsible to others, however, the degree of risk changes. The issue of drinking-driving when children are passengers did not, of course, arise in our data. However, within the general culture and within our experience with drinking-driving cases in court as well as in the mass media and in the literature of publicity about it, drinking-drivers who take risks with children are more heinous than those who take risks only with themselves or with other adults.

One repeated situation in which responsibility is stated is in the relations of men toward women. A bartender at Friendly Al's reported an instance in which the breathalyzer machine changed behavior. One late afternoon two young men tried the breathalyzer machine in a spirit of fun. Scoring .12 and .14, respectively, one said to the other, "Boy, we've got dates tonight. We'd better cool it" (*12-3*). The date as control appears in several other places. The responsibility of wives for husbands and husbands for wives makes a drinker's inability to carry out that responsibility a particularly notable dereliction of duty. At about 1:45 a.m. a wife was observed trying to persuade her reluctant husband to go home. She threatened to go home with someone else if he did not let her drive. At the end of their argument, she shouted, "You . . . drunk! You're the one who forces me to have to take care of myself" (*18-2*).

Another exculpatory defense is the responsibility to work. It is often unclear whether it is a responsibility to self to avoid unemployment or to others to perform cooperative duties. We have already discussed this as an excuse for minimizing drinking. It also appeared as an excuse for shifting the driving responsibility. A wife was observed persuading her husband to allow her to drive on the grounds that although they were both tired and had been drinking, he had to awaken early the next morning for work. Using a similar logic, Mark, a bartender at The Hermitage, in describing daytime and lunchtime drinkers, pointed out that afternoon work prevents them from drinking too much and can excuse some others because even though they drive, they are marvelously able to handle heavy drinking. "Mark

said that most of the men do not drink too much during the day because they have to drive, especially the salesmen" (*33-4*).

There are special categories of people for whom the norms of competent driving demanded of drinkers are less pressing. At The Club, for example, women, the elderly, and past convicted offenders of drinking-driving (i.e., "problem drinkers") receive special consideration and can be excused from displaying the level of competence expected of others. They were known to the bartender and to a number of customers as people who came and drank to the point of passing out, awakening, and drinking again. They called a taxi and made no effort to drive. In calling them "problem drinkers," we are using the sense of those in the bar; namely, people who are incompetent, accept their incompetence, and are given special consideration. One such drinker, Harold, illustrates how the display of this persona permits him to handle the drinking-driving problem in a way which maintains his esteem in the eyes of his audience:

> Harold is a guy who's been described as worth several million dollars in property. . . . According to what I'd heard he was pretty powerful in local politics. . . .
>
> Harold claimed that he'd had five arrests on 502s. What he usually does [now] is to get drunk in the morning, pass out in the car, or take a taxi home, wake up and start drinking until he passes out again. . . . Tonight he only had five drinks. . . . By the time he left he was totally drunk. (There was much joking about how Harold would buy the bar and fire the bartender if he refused to serve him.)
>
> After Harold left I was the only one in the bar and talked to Frank, the bartender, about Harold, confirming that much of what Harold said was true. I asked him about how he handled Harold's drinking. Frank's attitude was that Harold was basically *a harmless drunk* (authors' italics). He always knew that Harold would not go out and drive drunk but that he would either sleep it off in the car, or take a taxi, or have a friend drive (*11-1*).

On one evening we observed that Harold drove to The Club in his camper, became intoxicated as usual, and then slept in the camper parked in the parking lot in front of the bar.

Drinkers can also use past arrests for drinking-driving as explanations for their concern with the problem in a given situation. It can make their avoidance of driving understandable and reasonable. The principle here appears to be that where the risk is greater or the consequences more detrimental, the competent person recognizes it and acts with greater circumspection than the norm.

Whether this principle explains the special position of women and older people is unclear. But what is clear is that both groups constitute categories that excuse the avoidance of driving, and that can entail special responsibility on others. Bartenders were observed asking other customers to take an older person or a woman home when they appeared too inebriated to drive safely. It was a less "touchy" situation. We have commented above on the way in which women in The Club have greater license to choose how much they want to drink.

Also at Friendly Al's women received special status. (That Place was more patently a pickup bar and thus presented a very different kind of status for women.)

An observation at Al's illustrates how categorical differences can operate. One night an old man staggered over to the bar from the back of the room and said something to one of the women which angered her. Some of the men at the bar told her to ignore him "because he's old and drunked up." A few minutes later the bartender did something that the observer had not seen before. He told the old man he thought he had had enough to drink and should make his way home. The old man did not object, and the bartender said he was going to call a cab, which he did (*14-4,5*). It was also typical at Friendly Al's for some of the young women not to drive but to take taxis.

In one sense the special status of women is observed in instances of departure from the special role of women drinkers. This is seen in the observation of two women who entered The Club late one evening. They had been drinking elsewhere and had come to The Club when The Shack closed. (One of them said that she had been "loaded" for the last several nights, would get "loaded" again tonight, and call in sick tomorrow.) They annoyed the bartender by their abrasiveness and by demanding that he keep the bar open after 2 a.m. In a bar in which men do not swear in front of women, these women used many obscenities in their conversation. In a bar ordinarily solicitous of women driving when they were intoxicated, these women were permitted to leave without any warning, or remarks of concern, or any offer of help (*11-1,2*).

The same independent status of women was observed in That Place. There, an offer by a male to drive a woman home is interpreted as a sexual proposal, and acceptance is considered as an assent.

Women and older men constitute major groups toward whom customers and bartenders display special solicitousness. Children, of course, would probably also be included in such categories but the prohibition against serving minors (strongly enforced and strongly obeyed by the bars we observed) finesses that problem. There is some hint of a norm of greater solicitiousness of men toward young men or women toward younger women in references to the "kid" character of young drinkers in explaining their incompetence. As an example, when a woman at That Place was informed that her younger sister was in the back of the bar vomiting, she laughed and said her sister was "too young to mix-in cheap dope with booze" (*29-4*). Nonownership or nonuse of cars was observed among older men and women, but not among the other men. Harry, a bartender at Friendly Al's, worries about the older customers who live nearby and walk home alone down the street at night. Sometimes, he says, he drives them home after closing time (*16-3*).

In bringing this paper to a close, we want to summarize some additional material that makes more evident the ways in which the differences among the four bars influence the drinking-driving act. That act occurs in a mediating process between the management of competence by patrons and the act of driving an automobile. It emerges in the possibilities of control and influence over the patrons by their intimates and by and with the complicity of the bartender/manager.

The Bar and Social Control

Who, if anyone, is obligated to influence the drinking-driver? Who does? In general, the closer the degree of intimacy, the greater the mandate of the intimate to care for a fellow patron. It is with friends, lovers, and spouses that the incompetent self is admissible, and it is toward these that the patron can look for help and from whom he or she can accept advice and even derogation.

The matter is made complex by the norm which enjoins both intimates to uphold each other's "front" before the bar audience. There is a good deal of "sham" protest, especially among husbands and wives. Here patrons resist the definition of themselves as "too drunk to drive," proffered by their spouses, usually wives. On leaving, however, the wives simply assume the driving or the husbands hand over the keys. The norm of male-female relationships does place responsibility on women to remain more sober than men and does enjoin them to drive on occasions when they define the male as incompetent to drive. The closeness of the relationship also creates a license for the intimate, who is both dependent on and responsible for the patron's welfare, to abuse and insult the patron's competence, and thus to make drinking-driving a topic and an issue.

The bar is both an arena for display of competence and a place that generates intimate relations. Friendships are both nurtured among patrons and extramural ones continued within it. Bartenders, especially in neighborhood bars, can use their role to bring drinking-driving into the situation and set in motion the norms of mutuality, dependence, and welfare that govern intimate relations in connection with drinking-driving. Especially in neighborhood bars, bartenders are among the circle of intimates. There is considerable difference between singles bars, where bartenders are distant from customers; transient bars, where this is also the case but couples are more in evidence; and neighborhood bars, where the circle of regulars, couples, and the bar constitute a continuing social group. In neighborhood bars the drinking-driving situation is more likely to emerge as a situation for control than in singles bars and transient bars, where the norm of the display of competence has least possibility for exceptions and excuses.

Bars sell much more than alcohol. As sites for the pursuit of leisure, they create distinctive environments for behavior. Bars differ in the type of environments created. In two of the bars we studied (The Club and Friendly Al's), an atmosphere of club and recurrent sociability among regulars is sustained. In The Club, the regulars are the major patronizing group, and the bartender is one among them; in Friendly Al's, efforts are made to draw everyone into the ambit of the bartender's control and leadership. In the two others studied, the role of the bartender is minimal—patrons depend on themselves for the social atmosphere created.

In these different kinds of establishments, the economy of the establishment has different effects for the drinking-driving occurrence. In neighborhood bars, where circles of regulars have emerged and bartenders interact with everyone, the maintenance of sociability and social accessibility is a major source of the bar's market position. The bartenders need to sustain their relationship to patrons. It is their source of economic strength. Maintaining the "front" of the customer is thus important as is maintaining a "good feeling" about the bar. The bartenders thus have an economic pressure to achieve a sense of intimacy with patrons and to promote their relationship with others. As intimates, the bartenders are caught in the same complex web of dual pressures to maintain the "front" of competence and to discharge the obligations to care for their patron's safety and welfare. They become a major source both of serving drinks and of limiting patron's drinking, protecting the front of competence and intervening to aid in alternatives to driving. For example, bartenders are most likely to advise regulars to use a taxi or to call a taxi without a patron's permission.

Where the bar setting minimizes the practical possibility for bartender controls, the role of management in controlling drinking-driving or in generating its emergence as a topic is lessened. Here again, the neighborhood bar—with its circle of personal relationships and with a bartender capable of using the social rules of drinking-driving—is better able to control patrons' drinking and their drinking-driving patterns.

In all of the bars studied, the economic realities of selling drinks and establishing an atmosphere of conducive leisure take precedence over drinking-driving problems. All the bars show concern for avoidance of trouble that might destroy the frame of secure leisure. All define such "trouble" as an internal disruption such as a fight or nuisance behavior. Trouble is dealt with by placing offenders outside the premises. Whatever is external is not trouble for the bar. Thus, drinking-driving is a problem for the patron and not an action like serving a minor, which produces trouble for the bar as an establishment.

To conclude, there is a set of social rules governing the occurrence and nonoccurrence of drinking-driving. The setting within which drinking behavior occurs impinges on the emergence of drinking-driving as an occasion for the enforcement of such rules, including excuses for nonoccurrence of drinking-driving.

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The Context of Native American Drinking: What We Know So Far*

Joy Leland

Far more attention has been paid to why Indians drink excessively than to how they drink. The literature tends to depict a monotonously similar drinking pattern for Indians: extended, periodic, boisterous, public, group displays which progress inexorably to consequences ranging from unfortunate to disastrous.[1]

For our purposes here, the public element of this stereotype is of greatest interest. Clark's (n.d.) background paper for the conference concludes that the evidence indicates a strong relationship between public drinking, high intake, and associated problems in the general population, even though public drinkers may drink more often or in greater amounts in private.

Data on drinking behavior in a western urban Indian settlement indicates that in this subgroup, too, public drinking is related to some, though by no means all, heavy drinking and associated problems. The picture is far more varied and complex than the stereotype of Indian drinking suggests.

These findings emerged from an investigation of variability in the drinking behavior of these Indian people, inspired by scepticism that Native American alcohol use could possibly be as homogeneous as the literature seemed to suggest. The results of the study indicate that informants recognized a variety of drinking styles among their neighbors and, more important for our deliberations here, that drinking context was one of the principal criteria used by informants in differentiating among these styles.

Since drinking practices vary greatly within our own society and others, it is not surprising that the same is true of Indians, particularly in view of the cultural diversity among the groups which are

* This research was supported by NIAAA grants #RO1 AAO 3403-01 and RO1 AAO 1352-01.

[1] For literature citations documenting the elements of this generalization, see Leland (1976).

called and treated as a single entity ("Indians") by the dominant society. However, such differences have been documented only rarely (e.g., Levy and Kunitz 1974). Demonstrations of differences in drinking behavior within groups also are rare, with some welcome exceptions such as Graves (1970) and Jessor et al. (1968). The latter approach allows one to investigate directly the diversity in Indian drinking practices while holding constant confounding variables that complicate comparisons among tribes. In any case, documenting inter-tribal differences is a necessary prerequisite, or at least component, of cross-tribal comparisons.

Much of the pioneering work on Indian alcohol use was done by anthropologists. That discipline's emphasis on modal, normative patterns rather than on variability may have inadvertently contributed to the formulation and propogation of the unfortunate stereotype that all Indians drink alike; i.e., they "can't handle liquor."

The study reported here documented the nature and the extent of the variability in drinking styles that were recognized by informants. The latter qualification is important because nearly all the literature on Indian drinking consists of outsiders', rather than insiders', accounts, which may contribute, in part, to the flat, monolithic character of the picture that emerges from this literature, though several individual works do not suffer from this defect. If so, discovering insiders' own categories and criteria should produce a richer, more accurate depiction of the group's drinking behavior.

To discover insiders' views of the drinking in the Indian settlement (camp) I used a data-gathering method which minimized my own input. Cards bearing the names of the adult residents of the settlement were presented to 33 informants in two sets: first the men (143) and then the women (134). Informants were asked to sort the cards, putting people in the same pile who "handle liquor the same way."[2] There were no constraints on the number of piles the informant used, which ranged from three to nine, plus there were residual piles for residents the informants did not know or about whom informants did not know enough to categorize their drinking. On the average, informants placed 30 percent of the residents in these residual piles (the median was 12 percent; the range was from 4 percent to 45 percent).

[2] The sexes were presented separately because in a pilot study informants had insisted that men and women drink differently, and because of a desire to maximize the data to be derived about women, since almost all previous studies had focused on Indian men. The wording "handle liquor" emerged as the appropriate emic formulation from the pilot study.

It was unnecessary to say much beyond the original instructions. Informants proceeded to sort without hesitation and spontaneously verbalized criteria for distinguishing piles of cards from each other and assigning labels to the piles. All of these statements were written down, with the number of the sorter, the resident, and the pile which elicited the response. At the end of the two sorts, informants were asked to expand on criteria for the piles. This method proved to be particularly suited to these informants, who say they consider direct questions ill-mannered.

Several people usually were present during the sorts, which were conducted in the informants' homes. Observers often became kibitzers. Frequently these were young children whose parents seemed as surprised as I at their detailed knowledge of the settlement drinking scene. "No, Grandpa, he's an alky; he hangs out at the drinking houses."[3] Although the group participation produced test conditions which were more chaotic than controlled, it fortuitously enriched the data, particularly by producing explicit criteria for classifications in the course of arguments about the appropriate pile for a particular resident. "He goes here because he only drinks at weddings and rodeos and stuff like that." "No, he also goes to the X club once in a while, so he goes here." Despite the group consensus process introduced by the kibitzers, re-sort reliability was high—between 85 percent and 91 percent for the five informants who were tested twice (after an interval of about one month).

A principal drawback of this approach is that it documents only what informants *say* people do; we are currently checking these descriptions against our direct observations of drinking behavior, but that task is not yet complete.

Reconciling the 33 sorts into one union folk taxonomy of drinking styles for each sex was complicated by the relatively large amount of data (over 19,000 possible pairs in each sort), the missing data (which actually reduced the number of pairs to be dealt with, but the number was still large—about 291,000), and the use of an unconstrained sort (resulting in different numbers of piles for different informants). Hierarchical clustering was used to combine the individual sorts into one classification representing the balance of opinion among informants.

Far from presenting a random display, a distinct overall pattern emerged, both structural and semantic, indicating that the piles meant something to the informants; i.e., the piles represented

[3] Thinking back, it would have been interesting, if possible, to have children conduct sorts of their own.

different styles of handling liquor. Furthermore, informants sorted the same people together in piles with remarkable regularity (for details, see Leland 1975).[4]

From the combined folk wisdom of the 33 informants, there emerged five major styles of handling liquor for men and five similar but distinct styles for women. Both sets of styles are differentiated primarily by frequency of drunkenness, which in turn is reflected in other aspects of the behavior attributed by informants to the various styles, such as age, relative success at employment and marriage, frequency of arrest for driving under the influence of alcohol,[5] and manifestations of belligerence. The labels for the men's styles are (1) "winos," (2) "party," (3) "weekenders," (4) "special occasions," and (5) "don't drink." The latter includes, but is not restricted to, abstainers; the balance of persons categorized in style 5 are those who don't drink "for all practical purposes"; i.e., who seldom if ever become intoxicated. I had expected the first cut to occur between people who drink (ever) and those who do not. Instead, abstainers were included in a category with people who occasionally drink. This seems to indicate that abstaining is considered one way of "handling liquor" rather than a separate category, outside the realm of drinking. The men were distributed about equally among these five styles.

The five women's styles are (1) "winos," (2) and (3) which were not labeled because of the informants' diverse responses for these very small groups, (4) "special occasion," and (5) "don't drink." In contrast to the even distribution among the styles for men, 75 percent of the women were classified in the two styles representing least frequent (if any) drunkenness (i.e., styles 4 and 5, and the remaining 25 percent were ranged as follows: Style 1 (7 percent), style 2 (6 percent), and style 3 (12 percent). Thus, the distribution of women across the styles is highly skewed toward mild drinking and abstaining, and even among the men, many drink in a manner considered moderate by dominant society criteria. These are the people we rarely hear about

[4] Agreement among the sorts was measured by the gamma statistic, predicting the rank order of two residents in an informant's sort from the residents' rank order in the union folk taxonomy, considering the drinking styles therein to be ordinally ranked from high (winos, style 1) to low (don't drink, style 5). If informants had merely guessed the drinking style of residents, we could expect a 50 percent error in predicting these assignments. In fact, the error reduction averaged 85 percent (ranging from 71 to 95 percent). Agreement was higher for sorting men than women and varied among styles for each sex. The rank order for the men's styles was 1,5,2,3,4; for the women's styles, 1,5,4,2,3. Methods for testing the significance of gamma scores had not yet been devised when this work was done, but these labels represented good agreement, according to the improvised criteria available at the time.

[5] Data on these etic categories of information came from a survey conducted by the tribe for other purposes and from lists of arrests for driving under the influence of alcohol which appear in the daily newspaper.

because attention is focused on the more flamboyant drinking of their peers. Demonstrating the existence of these potential role models, of course, has important implications for prevention and treatment.

As set forth so far, the Indian folk taxonomy may seem to differ little from our own notions about drinking behavior. However, as informants' concepts emerge in the description of the drinking styles, I believe the patterns will strike the reader as increasingly culturally specific.

Looking back over the data to prepare for this conference, I noticed that the context in which drinking occurs was a prominent feature of informants' criteria for drinking styles, and that the variety of contexts described placed serious qualifications on the notion that Indians invariably drink in public. In fact, three of the five drinking styles, including the one involving the heaviest drinking of all, are practiced primarily in private settings: in "drinking houses" or in other homes. Actually, if we consider private and public as end points on a continuum, drinking houses probably fall somewhere in between. Participation is limited almost entirely to Indians, which, I suspect, we might find to be a dimension of their folk definition of "private," and access certainly is restricted, although strangers do obtain entry. The other two drinking styles are centered principally in town but also are seen in other public settings, such as at powwows and rodeos.

Note that the data on drinking contexts presented here were obtained as an unexpected by-product. A more direct approach to the study of the context of drinking in this Indian group would, of course, be preferable and is planned for the future. As Jessor pointed out in his discussion during the conference, this could include an approach similar to the one used herein. Informants could sort drinking situations rather than drinkers. Thus, one could secure data for a folk taxonomy of drinking contexts and discover commonalities and differences among drinking situations on a variety of possible dimensions, such as degrees of danger, peer support, mobility, social approval, social controls, and access to sexual partners.

Drinking Styles Practiced Primarily in Private Settings

Winos and Drinking Houses

Drinking houses are the primary setting for the winos' activities. At the time the data were collected, there were five settlement residences that qualified for this label and a sixth which some informants

included in the category. In good weather, small groups gather around these places with beer cans and other liquor bottles in hand. The atmosphere can be distinctly jolly, though trouble frequently flares. Indians from nearby rural reservations, and even an occasional white person, come to these houses because "they know they'll always find what they're looking for"—drinking companions. The outsiders provide the liquor; the "host" provides a place to drink and people with whom to drink. But, as informants point out, "Outsiders do their drinking and then leave, but the next day another bunch arrives," so the locals rarely get a break. This fact is part of the inspiration for the settlement folk wisdom, "You gotta be strong to be a wino."

The drinking house scene is especially festive at mail time on days when welfare, pension, or social security checks arrive. Small groups of eager-faced winos form, head to town, cash the checks, and buy liquor. This pattern changed temporarily when a liquor store opened two doors from the settlement boundary; however, the owner's attempts to confiscate the entire check to cover previous charges quickly restored the former custom.

On the other hand, drinking houses are frequently the scene of trouble. For example, one time a group of Indians from another settlement were discovered stealing housing project supplies. They fled with the loot to the smallest, most tumbledown drinking house. It is hard to imagine how all the people reported to have been arrested there could have been crammed into such a little shack, let alone the bulky items they carried. Although the drinking house host was arrested at the time, it later turned out that he was an innocent "bystander" ("he was passed out at the time—those outsiders just ran in his house to hide"). Such episodes compound the unsavory reputations of these houses.

Male and female winos drink together at drinking houses, in contrast to some other drinking styles and contexts where the sexes usually drink separately. Both sexes are represented, but by no means equally. Informants say that female winos "can't quite keep up" with the men.

Of course, not all wino drinking is confined to drinking houses. Winos are said to "hang arourd bars to bum and beg" but "leave when they get enough for a bottle." They return to the colony (settlement) on foot, usually drinking along the way, and by the time they arrive, "the sidewalk's not wide enough for them." Informants account for the fact that winos drink more often at drinking houses than downtown because it is less expensive to drink there than in a bar. Furthermore, local barkeepers discourage patronage of Indian

winos, particularly the women, which may explain why the female winos are seldom included in groups who "make the booze run" to town. (However, town is not the only place they experience prejudice. Informants were much more severe in their judgments of female winos than of male winos.) Another possibility is that winos, particularly women, simply prefer the companionship and relative safety provided by drinking houses.

Winos rarely take part in public drinking contexts other than at downtown bars and in streets. They do not often attend "doings," such as powwows or rodeos. "No one will give them a ride," for one thing.

Drinking houses used to blend into the surroundings far more than they do now. In recent years, neighboring dwellings have been gradually replaced by structures built through Federal, low-income housing programs. During the reconstruction, large trees and shrubs, old cars, and other junk that had accumulated over the years were removed, which greatly reduced the cover formerly enjoyed by drinking house participants. In fact, two of the drinking house shacks were replaced by new structures. These gradually are taking on an appearance that distinguishes them from neighboring houses, as trash accumulates and windows become broken, but the drinking activities are still far more exposed to public view than in the days of the shacks. This loss of privacy has put a damper on proceedings at drinking houses, both old and new. The comings and goings of the little clutches of drinkers are now clearly visible from the street, and participants do not appear as happy with their surroundings as they were formerly. The remaining shacks, too, have just been torn down. Although neighbors are glad to see these "sore eyes" go, they nevertheless expressed some nostalgic regrets as the wreckers went about their work. Though neighbors show annoyance at the "carrying-on" around the drinking houses, they seem to prefer to have the winos drink on the settlement than to have them "stumble along," "falling down in the snow," and "giving all Indians a bad name" downtown.

I am unaware of any close equivalent to these drinking houses in the literature, although they share some elements with other contexts reported therein. For example, although the bottle sharing element at drinking houses is the same as in the "bottle gangs" sometimes mentioned in the literature,[6] the bottle gangs lack the firm geographical base and association with a dwelling of the drinking house context. Bottle gangs tend to drift around skid row neighborhoods and to congregate in clandestine outdoor locations on and off the reservation.

[6] For example, Dann (1967); Hill (1976); Kuttner and Lorincz (1967); Heath (1964); Levy and Kunitz (1974); Waddell (n.d.a.).

Drinking house parties also bear some resemblance to home brew parties described for various Indian groups in the literature.[7] However, the furtive "bootleg" dimension is absent in drinking houses, although some of the same protective strategies may be used to balance the number of participants with the supply. Moreover, although some of these home brew parties occur in dwellings, they also are likely to occur at remote locations and to shift locations rather than remain centered at one geographic base, as do drinking house parties. The "visitor" element, prominent in drinking house parties, is less apparent in home brew parties and bottle gangs, which are more likely to be confined to people who frequently and consistently interact with each other. Panhandling downtown as a source of securing money to buy liquor has been mentioned for other urban Indians (e.g., Hill 1976) but without the element of returning to a specific place to share with a particular group. Heavy drinking parties in and around homes are mentioned in the literature (again casting doubt on the notion that Indians invariably drink in public), both within Indian enclaves[8] and in towns (e.g., Geiogamah 1972;[9] Hurt and Brown 1965). Hill (1976) mentions that winos prefer to drink in someone's house or apartment to avoid arrest. Nevertheless, a key factor in the drinking house context might be considered the Indian equivalent, in many ways, of a "home-territory" skid row bar in the dominant society.

Other drinking styles identified in the settlement also challenge the notion that Indians invariably drink in public. However, since these styles are characterized by the least frequent (if any) drunkenness, they do not conflict with the idea that heavy drinking is associated with bars and taverns. These drinking patterns are men's and women's style 5 ("don't drink"—i.e., for all practical purposes) and men's and women's style 4 (special occasion drinkers). These similar styles are characterized by infrequency of drunkenness and associated problems, though style 5 types drink even less than style 4 types, and the women drink even less than the men of these corresponding styles.

[7] For example, Balikci (1968, 1963); Ben-Dor (1966); Berreman (1956); Bock (1966); Clairmont (1963); Everett (1973, 1972); Graburn (1969); Heath (1964); Helm and Lurie (1961); Honigmann (1965, 1962, 1949); Honigmann and Honigmann (1968, 1945); Oswalt (1966); Robbins (1970); Savishinsky (1970); Smith (1975); Van Stone (1963).

[8] For example, Honigmann and Honigmann (1970); Koolage (1971); Loder (1978); Robbins (1979).

[9] It is of interest to note that this dramatic sketch, one of the very few depictions of Indian drinking *by Indians* takes place in a house; a group of people, mostly related, drink until they run out of wine, then steal the artificial leg of one member, and pawn it for money to buy liquor to stave off withdrawal symptoms.

Special Occasion Drinkers

Male special occasion drinkers "have little celebrations once in a while, like a wedding or a birthday, in addition to Christmas, New Year, and rodeo," though they "might get drunk on an occasional [nonspecial] weekend." "These might drink only at the big doings, like pine-nut festival and rodeo, and wouldn't even get drunk every time." "These can take a few and call it enough." "These might not even get drunk when they go downtown."

Definitions of "special occasions" varied greatly among informants, but those mentioned above recurred most frequently. If one defined enough occasions as "special," a drinking style so labeled could involve a vast number of "time outs." Practitioners of men's and women's style 4 are perceived as being intoxicated "less than every weekend," but informants' descriptions also suggest that the actual frequency is much lower than that criterion would allow—perhaps no more than five or six times a year. Furthermore, these men and women "never [stay out] overnight," "never miss work because of drinking," and rarely become "floppy drunk," as do often men and women of style 2 and 3. They "take care of their families" and "don't blow their money on booze."

Of greatest interest here, the special occasion drinkers may do their celebrating "right here at the camp [settlement]"; i.e., "at home, at little get-togethers" with family and friends.

Special occasion drinkers can join the weekend drinkers downtown once in a while[10] without being razzed for failure to make Friday night "roll call" every time. Since they do not pretend to be regular members of the weekend scene, their absence is not noteworthy. However, it is also not unusual for their wives to accompany them to a public drinking setting, in contrast to men following styles 2 and 3, whose drinking escapades might involve women but rarely their wives.

The special occasion style men includes subgroups, one of which was invariably referred to as "the wheels," young bureaucrats who have mastered "white man's drinking" for white-dominated contexts, though they might occasionally become intoxicated Indian style, perhaps to affirm their "Indianness" when they feel people are beginning to think them too "uppity." However, in the course of their more usual drinking, "they might drink at the baseball a little," but "they won't get mashed much, and know when to go home."

Several of the older special occasion male drinkers used to drink more than they presently do; accidents, conversion to the Mormon

[10] Hill (1976) mentions a similar phenomenon for urban Sioux.

church, diabetes, and other health problems are some reasons for their reduction of alcohol intake. The average age of special occasion male drinkers is 43 years, a little younger than "don't drink" males (53 years), about the same age as winos (40 years), and younger than party drinkers (34 years) and weekenders (31 years). The average age for all settlement adult men is 41.

Style 4 contains more women than any of the other women's styles and actually consists of two large subgroups labeled "special occasions" and "once in a while," with no clear indication of which would be used as the cover term.[11] The former drink less frequently and are less apt to become intoxicated than the latter. These women are most likely to drink at home at family get-togethers on the special occasions described for the men, although they sometimes drink with other women at the casinos preferred by the working classes and at some of the least sinister Indian bars. A few of them occasionally accompany their husbands to bars.

Although these women become intoxicated occasionally, their drinking is perceived as mild—e.g., "she nips." Nearly half of them used to drink more. Two are self-acknowledged former winos and another used to go on "terrible binges," informants claim. One of the former winos said, "I quit the day my daughter was born." Other women are said to have drunk more, variously "before she found a man," "before she had her baby," "before she decided her family came first" (also reported in Whittaker 1962). Thus, some female special occasion drinkers, like the men, are perceived as "maturing out" of problem drinking, which frequently occurs in the dominant society as well (Cahalan et al. 1969).

The range of ages of these women is wide (21 to 70), the average was 34—only women in style 3 were younger (32, range 22–48) but not significantly so. They are, however, significantly younger than the women in style 1 (54, range 29–85), style 2 (44 years, range 21–77), and style 5 (48 years, range 23–87). The average age of all the adult women is 40.

About half of these women live with their spouses, 3 are with their husbands "off and on," 18 are separated from their most recent spouse, 4 are widows, and 3 have never married. Although this picture suggests some marital instability, brittle marriages are characteristic of the group as a whole, particularly of the women. Perhaps this is influenced by the relative independence many of them enjoy as the person in the marriage partnership to whom use of the house has been assigned by the tribal government. About half of these women are employed, and only two listed in the labor force are unemployed. The rest are housewives.

[11] Elsewhere I have used the label "once in a while."

"Don't Drink" Drinkers

The "don't drink" men and women exhibit similar but even milder (if any) drinking behavior than the special occasion drinkers. Differences between the sexes are smaller in this drinking style than in any other style.

About the men, informants made such remarks as, "I saw him drunk once—I couldn't believe it." About the women, they commented, "It's odd to see them drinking." Drinking is even more home-centered among these drinkers, especially for women, than among special occasion drinkers. However, the men may go downtown occasionally. Informants mentioned that several of them "hit the bars" without taking a drink. "They play pool, or drink coke, or just talk to the guys"—apparently a successful strategy for participating in those aspects of male social life that are bar-centered—without actually drinking. However, in contrast to special occasion drinkers, informants did not indicate that the men in the "don't drink" group ever took their wives to public bars. Perhaps this is a reflection of the rarity of drinking among the women.

Drinking a "little" versus "never" is not associated with the subgroupings within the "don't drink" category for either men or women. However, for the women, in contrast to the men, informants mentioned that several are total abstainers on principle.[12] Most of these are wives or mothers of former or current problem-drinking men. On the other hand, for several men, people made such remarks as, "He went on plenty of good binges until his wife got hold of him."

There were some indications that younger men who "don't drink" may be slightly sensitive about their style of handling liquor. For instance, one of them placed his own name in the pile of party drinkers—perhaps wishful thinking on his part. (Incidentally, this was one of very few cases in which self-categorization did not closely correspond to the drinking style classification by other informants.)

Several informants (rather condescendingly, I thought) referred to young men in the don't drink group as "good boys" or claimed they "don't know how" to drink. However, informants did not patronize all the younger men who "don't drink." In particular, many of them expressed admiration for the five members of one subgroup. "He rides broncos. . . a guy's got to be sober to ride horses." "Their houses are full of trophies. They always win the parade contest as a family, and they're good at sports and Indian dancing, too." "This family drinks as a unit." "The boys say they're watching out for their dad; he says it's the other way around."

[12] Koolage (1971) reports on a group of men who forgo the aspects of social life centered on drinking because they think alcohol is "no good." Informants did not mention that any settlement men avoid drinking as a matter of principle.

Thirty-three percent of the men who now "don't drink" are reformed drinkers.[13] Three of them are former winos, one of whom used to have "some in him all the time, but he didn't seem drunk." (One informant labeled this "a special kind of drinker.") About 20 percent of the women in the don't drink group "used to drink more," and one total abstainer is a self-proclaimed ex-wino.

Men in the don't drink group have a significantly higher proportion of stable marriages than men in the other groups, particularly the winos. The only one who is separated from his spouse is an ex-wino, and the unmarried members are primarily widowers, reflecting the high average age of the group. Age also seems to be a factor in the low proportion who are in the labor force (though not necessarily employed) among the men in the don't drink group: 45 percent in comparison with 54 percent of the winos, 89 percent of the party drinkers, 72 percent of the weekenders, and 82 percent of the special occasion drinkers. The overall average is 69 percent.

Of those men who are not in the labor force, most are retired, and the balance are students. In contrast, among the wino men, out of 12 not in the labor force, only 1 is retired, 1 is in prison, 1 is in vocational rehabilitation, and 9 are listed in the tribal employment survey as "not in labor force—alcohol." In the don't drink group, 100 percent of those in the labor force are employed. This is in contrast to 21 percent of the winos, 77 percent of the party drinkers, 95 percent of the weekenders, and 96 percent of the special occasion drinkers. The overall average is 89 percent.

About two-thirds of the women in the don't drink group are married. Of the balance, about half are widows and young women who have not yet married, and half are women separated from their husbands; i.e., about one-sixth of all the women in this group have broken marriages. A little over half of these women are not in the labor force; of those who are, only two are unemployed.

Home Drinkers and Solitary Drinkers

There are few parallels in the literature for the kind of conservative drinking in homes practiced by the men and women of drinking style 4 and 5. Heath (1964) mentions that drinking at home has increased among Navahos since the repeal of Prohibition. Levy and Kunitz (1974) suspect that "ricos" among preservation Navahos set a precedent for such a drinking style in the early days and report that home drinking not only persists to the present time but has become

[13] Whittaker (1962) reports that 26 percent of the Standing Rock Sioux abstainers were formerly heavy drinkers.

more widespread and visible. They say Navahos who live in off-reservation towns drink a few beers in a bar or take home a six-pack after work to watch television in the evening, which Levy and Kunitz label "a white pattern." In fact, they say the majority of Navahos who are long-term residents of Flagstaff, Arizona, drink mainly at home, suggesting this may result from their being so heavily out numbered by whites in public drinking places. Perhaps these Indians are too few to provide a critical mass for establishing public drinking groups.

Mild drinking at home among Eskimo men and women also is reported by Hill (1976), Koolage (1971), and Honigmann and Honigmann (1965). The latter describe a sedate Christmas party at which the host (tribal chairman) served champagne. They (1970) also specifically mention home drinking parties to celebrate a special occasion, although their descriptions indicate these tend to be wilder affairs than those organized by our style 4 and 5 drinkers.

Ablon (1964) describes family New Year parties among urban Indians where food and drink are served, "and the intoxicated men will dance a lively jig." Everett (1973) mentions Apache parties to celebrate birthdays, weddings, and graduations with liquor and food where, in contrast to parties intended solely for drinking, the rules for consumption are relatively rigid.

Brown (n.d.) mentions convivial public drinking without intoxication by Taos Pueblo men and women which takes place in town (at Anglo-sponsored dances). His description bears some resemblance to the downtown bar drinking informants report for settlement couples classified as special occasion drinkers;[14] however, among these people, when couples drink together at bars the outcome can be less peaceful.

Informants mentioned instances of people in the settlement who drink by themselves, although this did not emerge as a separate style in the taxonomy. Among these, the only person who seemed to fit the dominant society category of "solitary drinker" was a man classified in the overall folk taxonomy as a party drinker. Informants said he had recently taken to drinking at home alone. "Lately, he won't even answer the door, even when the mailman tried to bring him a package. He just sits in there with the blinds closed. He's getting worse than a wino,"—worse because he drinks by himself, a practice informants labeled "weird"; winos, at least, follow the settlement (and Indian) norm of drinking in a group. Some informants referred to this man as "the next wino."

Another man was described as drinking alone, but he actually drank at one of the public bars preferred by Indians. By drinking "alone," informants meant he did not interact with other people while he was there—behavior they considered extremely bizarre.

[14] See also Hurt and Brown (1965); Koolage (1971), Oswalt (1966).

They say "he's got a regular trail to Bar X" to have a few beers and come home in a cab ("that's good"). The latter remark suggests the possibility that he gets intoxicated enough so that he is better off not to drive or walk home, despite informants' contention that he doesn't get drunk every day."[15] Perhaps informants mean not as drunk as winos, with whom they associate the "every day" pattern. Informants also mentioned that women in style 2, of which there are only eight, "will drink at home alone if they can't find a party," which I infer to mean that they would prefer drinking in company.

Four women in style 3 are said to "drink beer every day" at home, alone. Although this apparently did not involve intoxication, informants found it shocking. For men, however, "a couple of beers at home after work" is not considered odd, even though this is often done "alone," for all practical purposes, since wives generally do not qualify as drinking companions.

A number of authors claim that solitary drinking is absent or rare among Indians (e.g., Brown n.d.;[16] Graves 1971; Honigmann 1949; and 17 references cited in Leland 1976). It is difficult to evaluate such claims. First, we have no idea how to define "rare" since we do not know the rates for the dominant society—are they higher or lower than the apparent ratio of one to 277 adults at the Indian settlement covered herein? Second, some authors do describe instances of solitary drinking by Indians (e.g., Bock 1966; Collins 1971;[17] Oswalt 1966; Price 1975*a*; Waddell n.d.*a*;[18] Whittaker 1962; and seven references cited in Leland 1976). As Levy and Kunitz (1974) point out, the dearth of documentation of solitary drinking among Indians may simply reflect the relative difficulty of observing such behavior.

The same may be true of other private Indian drinking contexts, such as the home. The fact that scattered references thereto do occasionally crop up in the literature suggests—despite the fact that these are anecdotal, unquantified accounts—we should be wary of uncritically accepting the stereotype of exclusive public drinking by Indians; private drinking may merely have been overlooked by observers because it is, by definition, less visible than public drinking.

[15] This man was one of five said to drink every day, but he did not become intoxicated every day, a habit about which informants expressed puzzlement. This did not emerge as a separate drinking style in the folk taxonomy, however.

[16] Brown (n.d.) describes a wealthy Indian who consumed 1½ fifths of whiskey at home on a weekend with no untoward effects except for late sleeping.

[17] Collins specifically locates solitary drinking "at home."

[18] Waddell (n.d.*a*) describes withdrawal for private hallucinatory experience following group drinking.

Drinking Styles Practiced Primarily in Public

Party Drinkers

Downtown drinking is most frequently practiced by party and weekend drinkers. Informants use the verb "to party" to mean just the flamboyant public drinking portrayed by the stereotype of Indian drinking. "Party" is a bit of a misnomer in terms of lacking the element of fun. Even the winos seem to enjoy their drinking more than the party drinkers, who leave their sense of humor at the barroom door, according to informants' descriptions.

One main distinction between party drinkers and weekenders is the more frequent and pronounced belligerence exhibited by the former. "You can sit at bars with them and they will pick a fight over nothing. Tempers flare, too much pressure and they get a release. Just a flare-up"

Aggressiveness in association with heavy public drinking is documented at length in the Indian alcohol literature (see 30 citations in Leland 1976). Such behavior usually is a prominent feature of stereotype Indian drinking. However, data from the settlement and from a few other studies restrict drunken aggression to certain segments of the population. In the settlement this segment consists of party drinkers, who are mainly relatively affluent and married and exhibit both verbal and physical aggressiveness. Koolage (1971) found that Chipewyan men of roughly comparable status emphasize verbal displays—acting the "big shot"; i.e., like white men. However, he also reports that single men, primarily youths, emphasize physical displays—acting the "big man," a more traditional Chipewyan role. Data on the younger aggressive set in our settlement probably has been artificially minimized by restricting the study sample to persons 21 years and over. Hill's (1976) urban Indian "hell-raisers" are primarily young men who eventually "mature out" of drunken aggressiveness but also include older men who do not. Robbins (1970) identifies aggressiveness with status loss (by older men) or status-seeking (by younger ones).

Also in contrast to weekenders, party drinkers become intoxicated during the week as well as on weekends. "They go to Bar X after work and then get lost—won't go home." "They get tore up any chance they

can get, not just weekends," in contrast to the time-limited implications of the label "weekenders."[19] Furthermore, party drinkers become more intoxicated than weekenders. "They drink 'til they can't stand up," "really zonked," "bent out of shape," "all tore up"—in a word, they become impressively drunk.

Those in the party group are more serious drinkers than those in the weekend group. "They don't waste a lot of time playin' pool and stuff,"[20] although that ritual frequently launches the "partying," it is said. They want to "get on with it"; i.e., get drunk as fast as they can. Their drinking style is "athletic" and competitive ("see if you can drink faster and more than the other guy"), is characterized by frequent physical brawling, and constitutes a severe physical challenge to the body ("how they can go to work the next day is beyond me").

Some people call party drinkers "oversocial," which implies a contrast to the "social" drinking by weekenders. However, most informants offered spontaneous objections to the term "social" drinking, which they consider applicable only to "white man's drinking" ("one martini before dinner stuff," mockingly illustrated by extending the pinky finger while making the gesture of raising a glass), and hence has "got nothin' to do with the way we drink" ("too 'upper-white' for Indians").

In contrast to the wino men, who "never hurt anyone but themselves," the male party drinkers are perceived as serious troublemakers. "This is where the body's buried." "These are the ones that cause the grief." "Their drinking hurts their families." (Note that few winos have families to hurt.) "These are 'hell on wheels.'"

Another important distinction between party drinkers and winos is that the former "could still quit if they wanted to" and thus are not perceived as yet being irreparably "hooked."

Party drinkers and winos are combined in the folk taxonomy into a superclass labeled "can't handle it." Informants thus consider party drinkers to resemble winos more than they resemble weekenders. This is striking in view of the fact that the public drinking context for party drinkers is shared by weekenders but not by winos.

Bad as their present drinking is, two of the party drinkers "used to be worse," according to some informants. One of them used to "get

[19] Graves (1970) distinguishes men who limit their drinking to weekends from those who do not. Robbins (1970) suggests that a reputation for heavy drinking may derive more from imbibing when others do not than from the amount drunk or the associated behavior.

[20] Parties for the sole purpose of drinking also are mentioned by Brown (n.d.); Everett (1973); Hamer (1969); Hays (1968); Honigmann and Honigmann (1970, 1968); Robbins (1979); and many others.

drunk so bad he took off his clothes in front of these houses" and in other ways he is considered to have qualified as a "wino," though in its mildest form. The other one is said to have been "a regular wino until he moved into the new houses; now he goes once in a while, when he can get away from the old lady." "He used to drink so he couldn't remember a thing." This man referred to himself as an ex-wino. These remarks suggest that these two cases represent "maturing out," however slightly.

In some ways party drinkers seem to be the Indian counterparts of LeMasters' (1975) "blue collar aristocrats." The group includes some of the highest paid working men in the settlement, and as a group they have the highest average income reported. Twenty-six of the 29 party drinkers are in the labor force (1 is retired and 2 did not provide employment data). Six of the youngest were underemployed or unemployed, but 20 had steady jobs. However, some of these experience employment problems caused by morning-after hangovers, tardiness, or absence, informants say. A few people referred to this group as "working alcoholics," commenting "and that's important, that working part." Another informant called them "spree drinkers that do work."

Party drinkers take elaborate precautions to avoid the "vigilantes" on the main arteries between town and the colony. Only two were arrested for driving under the influence during the course of the study, but several more have shown up subsequently in the list periodically published by the local papers; for settlement residents this list seems to be the functional equivalent of a small-town gossip column. The wife of one of these party drinkers gives him a ride downtown whenever he wants to go, evidently to avoid accidents. She sometimes picks him up as well, if he runs out of money for a cab or is unable to get another ride home. From the latter, I infer that the wife is more concerned for the car's welfare than for her husband's since anyone likely to give him a ride would have been drinking probably as much as he.

Most party drinkers are family men. At the beginning of the project, 20 of 29 were living with wives, 8 (mostly young) had never married, and 1 was divorced. By the end, 6 of these marriages had dissolved. If this rate continues, the group will not be known as family men much longer. Informants attribute this trouble with wives directly to drinking. Since I have dealt elsewhere (Leland 1978) with the intricacies of the conflict between wives and husbands over drinking, I will drop the matter here, except to say it is my impression that women's liberation is a long way from coming to the colony, but when and if it does, party drinkers watch out!

Given the drinking behavior of party drinkers, the fact that wives are excluded[21] from this group seems "adaptive" almost in the Darwinian sense of survival to reproduce. In the few cases where wives have tried to keep up with their party-drinking husbands, the results have been disastrous.

Weekend Drinkers

Weekenders drink downtown but are not perceived to "perform" as party drinkers do. They usually become intoxicated when they drink, though they "don't get as mashed as the party bunch." "Why spend money for booze and then fight it off?" Above all, "weekenders don't get as mean" or "fight unless attacked."

Weekenders are about the same age as party drinkers (31 vs. 34) but are significantly younger than those of other drinking styles. Their youth probably contributes to the fact that less than half (13) of them are married. Of the 16 single men, 2 are young widowers, 5 are separated or divorced, and 9 have never married, as far as I know. Perhaps the label "playboy," which is occasionally applied to this group, refers to the preponderance of single men therein.

Informants usually referred to the employment status of the "weekenders."

Informants' first comments about weekenders usually referred to their occupation. "These are working class." "He's in construction." "He's a carpenter." "He's a car detailer." "Weekenders are always back at work Monday mornings." They "work all the time." Thus, occupation seems to be an important part of their image in the community. The weekenders' steady work habits distinguish them from the occasional lapses of the party drinkers. An informant changed the category of one male from party to weekender when a kibitzer said, "But he goes to work every day."

Only one weekender is unemployed. (He is said to have been a heavy drinker before he was "locked up.") Twenty are employed, four are in training or school, and the employment status of the other four is unknown.

About a third of the weekenders are considered to be drinking less now than formerly.

Although informants refer to this drinking style as the "normal" one, several weekenders' wives object to their husbands' drinking

[21] Collins (1971) and Hill (1976) mention that wives may occasionally accompany heavy drinking husbands on weekend rounds and that domestic conflict sometimes results. Most accounts, however, are confined to male peer group drinking.

because of the expense and the consequent absences from home. According to one informant, some weekenders "try for a while to get out of this weekend rut, but only a few make it. Maybe it's their friends pushing them and the environment. If they don't show up Friday night, the guys kid them. 'What's the matter, the old lady wouldn't let you out?'"

Most weekenders do not drink with their wives. "Some of the wives follow them to the bars but sit with other women and just keep an eye on them." However, this rule is not as strict as with the party group. Of the weekender couples who do occasionally drink together, one informant said, "the only couple I've ever seen drink peaceful together" is one in which the husband is white.

These men are far from immune to trouble associated with drinking. One married man drowned "from drinking," and another one was severely injured in an automobile accident in which the driver, a party drinker, was killed. However, informants claimed that "drinking had nothing to do with" the suicides of two wives of weekenders during the project. Two weekenders were arrested for drunk driving during the project. Several informants claim that "they might get in trouble once in a while, but it probably wouldn't be their fault. They might get picked up in a 'raid,' standing around with some drunk guys when they aren't even drunk."

Compared to party drinkers, male weekenders enjoy their drinking and take it less seriously. "Weekenders play pool and fool around while they're drinking." "They can joke and have a good time." "They do seem to have fun out of the weekends." And, despite some complications from drinking, primarily spouse trouble, weekenders "can handle it," i.e., are not considered problem drinkers.

The literature frequently refers to a concentration of Indian drinking on weekends.[22] The sense in which this is considered noteworthy is not clear. Presumably the general population also does most of its drinking on weekends; in fact, with their higher employment rates and greater awe of the work ethic, one would expect whites to spread their drinking less evenly over the week than Indians.

Another term for weekenders is "payday" drinkers. Like party drinkers, these men often cash their checks in certain local casinos ("my bank") which offer free drinks and rolls of nickels for the chance to get a part of the check. The men delight in taking these inducements without "dropping a cent" of their own and then taking their business elsewhere for the rest of the night.

[22] For example, Collins (1971); Hawthorn et al. (1957); Hill (1976); Honigmann and Honigmann (1970); Kuttner and Lorincz (1967); Robbins (1970); Whittaker (1961).

Types of Public Drinking

The "elsewhere" is likely to be one of the Indian bars. During the time of the study, the Indians concentrated their downtown drinking in a half dozen bars. The most sinister (my value judgment) were two just off skid row. Two were near the settlement and were the places most likely to be frequented by groups of settlement women, although men always outnumbered them even there. The other two were the most sedate (again, my appraisal) and were located farther away in a nearby working-class district. Although all these were known as Indian bars, they were not frequented exclusively by Indians, and Indians were often in the minority in these. Now the situation seems to be in a state of flux. Skid row, and its two Indian bars, disappeared last year when a casino bought up a square block. One of the two bars near the settlement closed after frequent trouble there, which included a shooting. Indians no longer go to the two bars they formerly frequented in the working-class district, though they have started to visit a nearby casino featuring country music. But most of the downtown Indian drinking now seems to be concentrated in the Indian bar near the settlement, which seems to have become exclusively Indian.

Except for the most remote locations, primarily in the Arctic, the studies that describe Indian drinking include (and some are restricted to) drinking in public bars and taverns.[23]

A few studies are notable for differentiating among types of public bars and taverns frequented by Indians, indicating the differences in their functions, their clientele, and the behavior that occurs there.[24]

Some reports in the literature refer specifically to "Indian bars."[25] Few of these authors define the term to make clear whether all the patrons are Indians or, if not, what proportion of the total they do represent. One of five bars described by Loder (1978) was "95 percent Indians"; the proportions (presumably smaller) in the other four bars are not stated. Kuttner and Lorincz (1967) differentiate between six bars which are predominantly Indian and six which also are patronized by whites and blacks. Oswalt (1966) reports that Mohawk construction workers in Brooklyn treat one bar as their home territory and try to keep outsiders from using it as their club. Other authors

[23] For example, Bowles et al. (1972); Buckley (1966); Hawthorn et al. (1957); Heath (1964); Levy and Kunitz (1974); Robbins (1979); Topper (1970); Waddell (1976); plus eight references in Leland (1976).

[24] For example, see Dann (1967); Hurt and Brown (1965); Loder (1978); Weibel (1979).

[25] For example, Ablon (1964); Fogleman (1972); Graves (1970); Ritzenthaler and Sellers (1955); Weibel (1979).

state that certain bars serve both Indians and others.[26] Dann (1967) specifies that a Seattle bar is considered an Indian "joint," although an equal number of non-Indians patronize it. From most accounts, a mixed ethnicity can be inferred, e.g., Brown (n.d.).

Buying rounds and sharing drinks, implicated by Clark (n.d.) as increasing consumption, are prominent features of many descriptions of public drinking by Indians.[27]

In urban areas and reservation border towns, bars frequently are said to serve as social centers for Indians.[28] Other authors emphasize the social-service function of Indian urban bars, which function to integrate new arrivals, providing a place where they can locate jobs and receive help with other problems.[29] Price (1975*b*) sees this function taken over by other institutions in an evolutionary scheme in large urban centers. However, Weibel (personal communication) finds they still serve this purpose in Los Angeles.

For reservation settings, it occasionally has been suggested that establishment of tribal taverns (which usually would necessitate repeal of local tribal prohibition) would help Indians learn how to do controlled drinking and avoid the hazards of commuting to towns for alcohol (e.g., see Mail 1966; May 1975; Schusky 1975). Experience where tribal prohibition has been lifted suggests the result may be a decrease in some alcohol-associated problems, such as trouble with the law (e.g., see May 1975).

Public drinking by Indian women occurs mainly among those in styles 2 and 3. There are eight women in drinking style 2. Like the male party drinkers, these women "do heavy weekend drinking, but other times, too." "They start whenever somebody buys a jug." However, their drinking is neither as frequent nor as strenuous as male party drinkers. Nevertheless, they get "all cracked up" and "floppy drunk," informants say.

The three older women in the group (average age 69 years) "drink when they gamble"—a frequent occurrence. Of the five younger women (average age 29 years), one lives with the older gambling trio. Her husband, a wino, lives there too, but the couple does not drink together. The other four younger women drink with their husbands

[26] For example, Honigmann and Honigmann (1970); Hurt and Brown (1965); Koolage (1971); Kuttner and Lorincz (1967).

[27] For example, Dann (1967); Graves (1971, 1970); Koolage (1971); Loder (1978); Price (1975*a*); Robbins (1970); Whittaker (1962); plus 22 references in Leland (1976).

[28] For example, Dann (1967); Fogleman (1972); Gardner (1969); Guillemin (1975); Hurt and Brown (1965); Kuttner and Lorincz (1967); Oswalt (1966); Ritzenthaler and Sellers (1955); Weightman (1972).

[29] For example, Ablon (1964); Dann (1967); Loder (1978); Price (1975*b*); White (1970).

or boyfriends (one wino, three party drinkers). All drink frequently in public, and informants did not mention that any drink less now than formerly. One of these women was classified as drinking more than her husband—the only challenge presented by our data to Knupfer's (1964) rule that women drink less than the men with whom they associate.

Four of the women are married; one separated from her husband during the project period; and three are widows. The ex-husband of one is "in prison for killing a guy hanging around" her. She is said to have "deserted her babies," who are being raised by the ex-husband's mother.

Although some of the women are said to "get a little mean" when they drink (people say one gets "drunk and hurts her baby"), their pugnaciousness apparently "can't hold a candle to" that of the male party drinkers. However, when the combativeness of these women is combined with that of a heavy drinking husband, results have been spectacular.[30] Furthermore, they may go downtown when their husbands are in jail, away, or drinking with other men, and "that can lead to jealous fights." "They'll drink with any man; how do you think they get their drinks?" One of the women was convicted of being drunk in an automobile during the project; informants claim others have been "picked up for [being] drunk" in the past, before public intoxication was decriminalized.

Informants claim that those who have children are in danger of losing them. "These are unsteady people." "They don't work for any length of time, maybe a couple of weeks babysitting, but you couldn't depend on them if you had to have them." Only two are in the labor force; three receive Social Security or Old Age Assistance; two are supported by their husbands; and one, currently living with her wino mother, has no visible means of support.

Despite their drinking-associated problems, informants classified these style 2 women as "can handle it," although many called them "problem drinkers." The younger ones are said to be "young enough to stop," but they "can't limit themselves, it seems"—both traits paralleling those attributed to male party drinkers, whom these

[30] Koolage (1971) identifies a form of Chipewyan drunken aggression called the "boss-man" role in which the husband demonstrates the "upper hand" by controlling his wife's alcohol supply while drinking as much as he wants himself. Graves includes wives in the targets of aggressive men; Whittaker (1962) says wives are the primary targets for physical aggression of Indian drinkers. Ablon (1964) reports that heavy drinking and ensuing quarrels discourage wives from attending bar parties and picnics, but this refers to wives in general, not necessarily to those married to heavier drinkers. According to our data, male peers are the most frequent victims of party drinkers' aggression; wives take the brunt less frequently. Furthermore, husbands are not immune to physical attacks from wives—even among those who do not drink.

young women also resemble by not getting much fun out of their drinking. The older gambling women, on the contrary, "have a ball." Among the women, only the winos can't handle it.

Style 3, again unlabeled, is comprised of 16 women. They become intoxicated less frequently than women in style 2, confining their session to weekends. They drink at bars, at the park, at powwows and rodeos, while riding around in cars, and so forth. In addition to this public drinking, four of them drink beer, without becoming intoxicated, at home alone.

A majority of these 16 women drink with their husbands or boyfriends. Some say they just "follow them" to keep an eye on things. "They don't try to join in but just want them to know they're watching them." According to others, these women do drink with the men.

The 2 youngest in the group have not yet married. Of the remaining 14, 11 were married at some time during the project, and 3 had boyfriends living at their houses. (Subsequently, one of the women's marriages turned into an "off-and-on" relationship, 2 women separated permanently from their spouses, and 2 women committed suicide.) The average age of the 16 women is 31—the youngest of the five drinking styles.

Eight of these women are said to have drunk "more" in the past (two of them said, "Now I'm a peaceful drunk"), while three are said to be "getting worse," and it was predicted that one of these "would become a wino." None were arrested during the project; one was in a serious automobile accident, but it is unclear whether alcohol was involved. Half are in the labor force, and all of those are employed. The others are housewives, except for one student who attends a prestigious university. The two suicides were housewives. It is my impression that most of these women use drinking to gain access to male company rather than use it as an end in itself.

Both men and women who practice styles 2 and 3 drink prominently in many public settings, not just bars. Powwows provide one example. Informants say that male party drinkers, in particular, "always stagger around at the doings" and "never miss a powwow."

Most accounts in the literature (e.g., Heath 1964; Levy and Kunitz 1974) emphasize visible male peer group binge drinking at such affairs. Everett (1973) notes that Indian dances are the most likely place for trouble-associated drinking to occur. Drunkenness, rather than simple drinking, is common. "Only a thin line separates 'bad talk' from harmless banter, and this line blurs for those who are intoxicated"; drunks may misinterpret normal verbal play as a serious challenge, so they are handled cautiously. Whittaker (1961) indi-

cates that young people think they cannot have a good time at dances[21] or at other occasions unless they drink.

However, infrequent drinkers are also enthusiastic participants at Indian "doings," and there is some substantiation in the literature for convivial drinking in such settings. For example, Weibel (1979) notes controlled drinking at city powwows (in contrast to rural ones). Ablon (1964) reports on city powwows which were free from drinking. Hill (1976) describes a ball game held at an urban powwow, where players drank beer but did not become intoxicated. Note that an urban setting is common to all of these accounts of restrained powwow drinking.

According to my observations of city and reservation powwows, both consist of several drinking contexts, not just one. One local setting centers on the stick game. Here a few players may drink beer and even tolerate quietly intoxicated people playing a few rounds, but they give the silent treatment to severely intoxicated bystanders (eye contact is avoided; raps on the arms and attempts to initiate verbal interaction are ignored). Around the beer stands, drinking groups comprised mostly of middle-aged men exhibit behavior ranging from quiet to boisterous, but the more severely intoxicated groups gather apart from the rest, perhaps behind the bleachers or in the parking lots, though a few strays wander through the crowd. At the last combined powwow/rodeo I attended, I noticed something new—a sign announcing the Indian dancing bore the bold legend, "No liquor's allowed."

In connection with Indian ceremonials, a religious context, in contrast to secular powwows, the literature presents a mixed picture of alcohol use. In some cases, liquor is outlawed from ceremonies. For example, Brown (n.d.) reports that Taos Pueblo police officers guard the trail to Blue Lake during the annual pilgrimage to prohibit liquor and drunken individuals, and in general, drinking at Pueblo ceremonies is not allowed. Even heavy drinkers abstain for ceremonial participation and for family responsibilities. Levy and Kunitz (1974) report tht Hopi public ceremonies are "noticeably decorous and sober." At Eastern Oklahoma Fifth Sunday Sings, drinkers are expected to abstain or else not participate, although some people do drink discreetly, hoping not to be noticed (Weibel 1979).

Last summer at a Yakima ceremonial dinner where over 300 people celebrated the harvest of native root plants, I saw no evidence of liquor use during the ceremony, either in the long house or outside. Even later in the evening, when the sacred context was supplanted by a fashion show and powwow dancing, I noticed only one obviously

[21] Although not made explicit, this probably does not refer to traditional Indian dances.

intoxicated person in the hall and no drinking groups outside. Drinking did not begin until after the proceedings ended, about midnight, and spectators left the ceremonial site to go to bars and taverns in town. These examples suggest that Indians effectively sanction drinking in certain contexts, in contrast to the frequent allegation in the literature that social sanctions against drinking are rare in this group (see 34 citations in Leland 1976).

In other cases, liquor exchanges and consumption are an integral part of the planning and preparation for a ceremony. Basso (1966) reports that Tulapai, the native Apache beer, is provided to clan relatives at a gathering to solicit help and cooperation in holding the girls' puberty ceremony; accepting the beer incurs the obligation to make a substantial gift toward the eventual proceedings. Behavior is decorous.

In addition, alcohol use occasionally is an integral part of religious ceremonies among southwest tribes who had alcohol aboriginally. Levy and Kunitz (1974) mention this for White Mountain Apache public religious ceremonies, and Everett (1973) for their curing ceremony in particular, where the medicine man and those who assist him receive drinks from the host. The Pima and Papago use cactus wine in their New Year's Day rain-making ceremony under highly controlled conditions (Price 1975*a*; Waddell 1976). However, at the end of the ceremony, the remaining wine is taken to homes and consumed in secular fashion until the supply is exhausted.

Levy and Kunitz (1974) report the use of liquor in an informal way, rather than as an integral part of the ceremony, by a Navaho ceremonialist who claimed he could pray and perform his chants more effectively when he had had something to drink.

More commonly, liquor plays no role, institutionalized or informal, in the actual ceremony; rather, the occasion simply provides peripheral drinking opportunities. Heath (1964) reports that drinking in connection with Navaho ceremonies was spurious, playing no part in the ritual, but taking place only among small groups who would wander around on the periphery of the crowd, watching the proceedings and only occasionally and surreptitiously drink together. On the other hand, other authors mention that more blatant peer group binge drinking by spectators is tolerated; for example, at large Navaho public ceremonials (Levy and Kunitz 1974); at the White Mountain Apache girls' puberty ceremony (Basso 1966); and at the Apache curing ceremonies (Everett 1973) where bootleg liquor circulates in the crowd to supplement the home brew used in the ceremony. Hawthorn and his colleagues (1957) see the incorporation of liquor into new Indian social gatherings that are centered around traditional purposes as institutionalized in itself.

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Many other relatively public settings for heavy drinking (involving men almost exclusively) are mentioned in the literature. Some of these occur either on or off the reservation, such as drinking in automobiles.[32] Some are outdoor locations in and around urban areas, such as "along the river,"[33] behind buildings and bushes, in the streets and in open places on the outskirts of town,[34] in alleys,[35] in vacant lots and fields,[36] in railroad yards and warehouse areas,[37] and near dance pavilions.[38] The remaining settings are outdoor locations on or near the reservation, such as behind trading posts, at rodeos, and at reservation sites far from habitations.[39]

The dearth of references by settlement informants to alcohol use at home by the men and women who practice drinking styles 2 and 3 raises many questions. Even if their normal recreational drinking is as closely confined to public contexts as our data suggest, what happens at private special occasions such as birthdays and weddings? These call for joint celebration by men and women and, hence, are likely to result in a mixture of drinking styles, including those normally practiced in private settings. Thus, these occasions are probably observed at home. In such situations, perhaps heavy drinkers adopt a more moderate style. If informants did not consider this to be "real" drinking for these people, it could account for the fact that they did not bother to mention such home drinking in their descriptions of drinking styles 2 and 3. On the other hand, perhaps these drinkers separate themselves so definitely from drinkers of other styles that they simply do not participate in private family celebrations. We lean toward the first explanation rather than the second, and others are, of course, possible.

We have seen that heavy drinking by Indian people is depicted as an activity primarily practiced by males in a public, rather than a private, context. However, a few studies provide us with glimpses of drinking at home that resemble the behavior associated with styles 2 and 3; women figure more prominently in these accounts than in the descriptions of public drinking. Brown (n.d.) mentions heavy drinking, especially by younger men, at family celebrations such as marriages

[32] Hawthorn et al. (1957); Honigmann and Honigmann (1970); Hurt and Brown (1965); Kuttner and Lorincz (1967); Robbins (1970).

[33] Hill (1976); Hurt and Brown (1965); Waddell (n.d.*b*).

[34] Waddell (n.d.*b*).

[35] Brown (n.d.); Heath (1964).

[36] Levy and Kunitz (1974).

[37] Hill (1976).

[38] Hawthorn et al. (1957); Waddell (n.d.*b*).

[39] Levy and Kunitz (1974).

or feast days. Hill (1976) describes home (their own or relatives') drinking bouts by family men, where women drink with their husbands. If the couple does not share a common standard of acceptable drinking levels, conflict results. Collins (1971) reports that working-class men drink at home to minimize the visibility of their bouts. Wives sometimes drink with them; again this leads to trouble in which tribal police frequently must intervene. He says poorer people are less likely to drink at home; the men are less motivated to hide their drinking and some of their wives simply will not allow drinking at home.

Hawthorn and his colleagues (1957) report that some drinking occurs in homes, but in a situation where even moderate drinking was against the law for Indians, few of them found it worth the risk. Hill (1976, p. 21) mentions couples who do almost all their drinking in homes, reflecting efforts to moderate drinking to a more "white" style.

Party-like drinking in homes also is reported by Hill (1976) who claims that couples cared adequately for their children despite drinking heavily together. Young Indian girls, escorted by native and non-native men, attend spontaneously formed home drinking parties on weekends following paydays, but these usually occur on holidays and festivals, (e.g., Honigmann and Honigmann 1970). Oswalt (1966) observed that at these parties women and boys may rely on men to bring a liquor supply home for them. The sexes drink separately at these parties and only the men are apt to move to a bar after the home supply of liquor is exhausted (e.g., Robbins 1970). Koolage (1971) noted that men do not always succeed in controlling their wives' liquor supply however; the women often will buy their own liquor for parties to ensure having an adequate amount for themselves. Robbins (1970) mentions that men drink openly only with those women who are mates or potential mates (their female cross-cousins).

Drinking, sometimes heavy, in a private context occurs at wakes where male and female relatives and friends of the deceased maintain a night-long vigil over the body. Drinks are given to those who help prepare food and gather wood and water and, in an effort to lighten the somber mood, to those who attend (see Everett 1973).

Accounts of mixed-sex drinking are predominately in private settings and some authors state that men and women rarely drink together in public (e.g., Waddell 1976). Nevertheless, the literature does contain a few references to women drinking in public in the company of their men (e.g., Hawthorn et al. 1957; Honigmann and Honigmann 1965), who then appear ill at ease, ordering a cola drink or nursing a can of beer for the entire evening (see Robbins 1970).

Brown (n.d.) describes a couple whose drinking together in a bar often led to domestic conflict. Other couples who drink together in public settings are described as having adopted a "white" style of drinking, such as consuming wine or beer with a meal in a restaurant (see Koolage 1971).

Loder (1978) differentiated several bars, partly on the basis of the perceived differential suitability of men bringing a woman there. Couples would go to a bar that featured entertainment and to a neighborhood bar where families were welcome, but men would not take their women to another urban bar which was the scene of many interracial fights (see also Dann 1967; Kuttner and Lorincz 1967).

Some studies mention public drinking by women in sex-segregated groups. Loder (1978) describes women sitting together at the bar, although their male clan members or escorts often were present in the establishment. Hurt and Brown (1965) also have reported sex-segregated groups at a tavern-lunch counter, where young women sat together, drinking little and socializing with each other, while young men sat elsewhere, drinking and boasting of their sexual prowess.

Occasionally women are reported to sit together in a bar to attract males for prostitution. Hurt and Brown (1965) claim that at an urban tavern an older woman received drinks if she were successful in procuring clients for her younger female companion. Dann (1967) also observed women drinking together and soliciting at a skid road bar.

Summary

The material summarized herein from a recent detailed study of alcohol use in an urban Indian settlement and from other literature on the subject considerably qualifies the conventional wisdom about Native American drinking behavior and the context in which it occurs. Contrary to firmly entrenched stereotypes, we have seen that Indians use alcohol in a variety of settings and in a variety of ways.

Both drinking contexts and drinking styles have been characterized herein, based on insiders' statements about their perceptions thereof, as sets of types. The drinking contexts have been labeled with everyday terms designating places (home, drinking houses, bar, rodeos, powwows, etc.). The styles of handling liquor also have been called by common speech terms (don't drink, special occasions, weekenders, party drinkers, and winos). Both contexts and styles appear to be defined by informants as clusters representing particular points of intersection on a number of dimensions, although in each case, one dimension seems to predominate: private versus public in the case of contexts, and frequency of drunkenness in the case of drinking styles.

The typologies of contexts and styles thus stress the gaps in a spectrum of variation and the mutual exclusiveness between categories. At one level of analysis, typologies encourage the recognition of variability by delineating patterned differences in drinking behavior and the social space in which it occurs. On the other hand, the resulting descriptions are in themselves normative. Emphasizing what is similar in a particular drinking context or style by necessity downplays the variability within, as well as the overlap among them. Thus, while typologies help to combat stereotypes at one level, at another level they are the stuff of which new stereotypes are made. At what point in the balance between variability and homogeneity is one justified in drawing boundaries around a type? This dilemma is inherent in all descriptions of human behavior and settings. The solution here has been to rely on insiders' perceptions for the demarcation of types. While this approach has brought fresh viewpoints to the study of Indian alcohol use, it may have sacrified other strengths which a conventional ethnographic approach might have achieved, primarily a more systematic coverage of the possible correlates of drinking styles and contexts.

In work in progress, we are attempting to take both approaches, separately but simultaneously, hoping to achieve the advantages of each. For example, by studying the same group after a lapse of five years, we help overcome a principal drawback of the original investigation—a look at the developmental organization of drinking styles. Drinking behavior is not static but dynamic. Today's drinking influences tomorrow's; a longitudinal study provides clues about the nature and the direction of those dynamics.

The data presented herein suggest that the association between drinking styles and contexts is far from simple. One link between them is the frequency of use of a variety of contexts. Perhaps to be a heavy drinker one must use all opportunities, and people who drink heavily do so regardless of context. If so, this suggests that drinking styles tend to be determined by personal qualities or experience. Alas, as in the case of the general society, we also remain disturbingly ignorant as to which individual elements influence the particular drinking behavior which an Indian person develops.

On the other hand, drinking styles are enacted, not "had." The same person may drink in different styles in different situations, as some of our data have indicated. In the folk taxonomy, a person may have been placed by informants in the drinking style which he or she most often practices, or practices most visibly, while in fact the person may use a whole repertoire of styles. In this case, context becomes a matter of great interest. To what degree does the choice of drinking style grow out of circumstances—a certain setting at a

certain time in certain company? This discussion merely documents a number of drinking contexts which informants have described. The next step is to use the approach taken by Weibel in which each of these social settings is analyzed into elements, and the association between patterns of these elements and the kinds of drinking behavior occurring therein are investigated.

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There's a Place for Everything and Everything in Its Place: Environmental Influences on Urban Indian Drinking Patterns

Joan Weibel

A substantial literature has developed over the last 25 years about alcohol and substance abuse among Native Americans. An annotated bibliography compiled by the Social Research Group in Berkeley, California, offers over 400 citations with this focus (Street et al. 1976). The social aspect of Indian drinking is well documented (Burns et al. 1974; Cockerham 1975; Ferguson 1965; Waddell 1971). It is the common view that Indians don't drink alone, drink rapidly, "go for the high," share their drinks, exhibit great personality shifts from stoic passivity to boisterous and aggressive acting out upon reaching intoxication, and maintain few sanctions against drinking (Burns et al. 1974; Hurt and Brown 1965; Kemnitzer 1972; MacAndrew and Edgerton 1969).

Prevalence studies or examinations of drinking as deviant behavior dominate the Indian drinking practices literature (Burns et al. 1974; Graves 1970; Levy and Kunitz 1974; Westermeyer 1972). While the level of drinking and alcohol-related medical, social, and economic problems are disproportionately higher among Indian populations, it has been documented that a large majority of urban Indians either do not drink at all or drink in ways that are socially acceptable and nondestructive (Burns et al. 1974). We were interested in identifying and describing the drinking patterns of this larger, normative group, with a focus on the social and individual strategies and controls that exemplify regulated and socially acceptable drinking behavior among Native Americans living in a large metropolitan complex (i.e., Los Angeles).

To accomplish this, our study compares sample populations of four Native American tribal groups in urban Los Angeles County who differ in their rates of drinking. Subsamples of Navajo, Sioux, and eastern Oklahoma tribesmen, the most heavily represented tribal groups in Los Angeles, and a group of indigenous California Indians

living in urban areas are compared across a broad range of drinking levels and styles.[1]

Two data collection methods were employed. First, an intensive life history interview was used to elicit self-reports of early exposure to alcohol and other substances, levels of traditionalism, lifetime drinking cycles, basic demographic data as well as measures of psychological adjustment to urban life, indicators of stress, and medical sequelae of substance abuse and individualized strategies that were developed to self-monitor drinking. Second, our field staff became participant observers in a wide range of drinking and nondrinking settings frequented by Los Angeles Indians.[2] Ethnographic data provide not only a validation of the self-reported drinking behaviors elicited through interviews but also a description of the kinds of situational and individual mechanisms that regulate drinking characteristics of the various drinking settings. We were particularly interested in understanding the contextual nature of urban Indian drinking practices, what contributes to the Indian group's own regulation mechanisms and how these social-contextual settings differ from settings in which Indians gather together but do not drink.

The staff visited urban Indian bars, powwows, community meetings, Indian Centers, clinics, churches, and after-hours gathering places and were invited to private house parties. Over 100 hours of observation time was spent in the various settings. Each type of setting was visited at least four times so that generalized interactional and drinking or alternative behavior patterns could be established for each setting.

The observations of the settings were both structured and unstructured. The foci of the observations included a description of the physical setting, the number, age, sex, and tribal makeup of the clientele, and a description of interactional styles and drinking behaviors in the various settings. We were especially interested in identifying those environmental features that seemed to be associated with drinking levels characteristic of the settings as well as identifying those social-interactional controls that mitigate excessive drinking or at least the antisocial acts that can be the consequences of excessive drinking.

[1] The ethnographic data discussed in this paper were collected in the summer and fall of 1978 for the Ethnography of California Urban Indian Drinking Practices Study, one of six alcohol research projects funded by the California State Department of Alcohol and Drug Abuse and administered by the Alcohol Research Center at the University of California, Los Angeles.

[2] The field staff was made up of four Native American research assistants, Bernadine (Penny) Lindquist (Seneca), Eva Northrup (Hopi/Cherokee), Gene Herrod (Creek), and Homer Stevens (Kickapoo). Their "insider" perspectives added significantly to the focus and reliability of the field work data.

Participant observation included getting involved in the ongoing activities of the various settings. We danced, played pool, sang gospel songs, participated in pipe ceremonies, and joined drinking cliques when it was appropriate to do so. In this way we were able to meet and talk informally with many of the regular members of each setting. These meetings often precipitated an appointment for an interview or lengthy casual conversations which usually included discussions of the concepts illustrated in this paper.

We were also able to document who, in our sample of 165 participants, visited what settings on a regular basis and what were their predominant drinking styles in those settings. We say "predominant" drinking style because one interesting finding of the study is that the people whom we observed regularly did not exhibit a single drinking style but appeared to shift their drinking behaviors across settings. This finding generated the hypothesis that settings have certain qualities or dimensions that either mitigate or induce drinking behavior and that individuals respond to these environmental cues in diverse ways because of differences in age, sex, cultural background, lifestyle, and predominant drinking style.

We suggest that social settings in which Indians gather together on a regular basis and the habituated behaviors displayed in these settings constitute institutions, in that institutions are groups of people organized according to conventionalized rules or norms in which the facilities at hand are used to carry out activities that have a function (need). They also constitute institutions, in that an institution is the relationship or behavioral pattern of importance in the life of a community or society (Malinowski 1944). Rather than formally chartered institutions, however, the social and drinking milieus of urban Indians constitute nonformal but nonetheless regulated and codified institutions in which rules of correct comportment are implicit rather than explicit. Further, the rules of correct comportment do not seem to be universal across settings but, rather, are the function of certain environmental and sociocultural features of each setting.

Rather than a generalized urban Indian drinking pattern, levels of drinking and accompanying behaviors are sensitive to and influenced by socioecological factors which can be thought of as dimensions or continuums upon which an event can be plotted.[3] We have identified six environmental dimensions and will attempt to illustrate their association with levels of drinking and drinking style. The dimensions are constructs that have been generated by the patterns elicited

[3] The concept of measurable environmental dimensions as descriptors of settings as well as influences on behavior within those settings has been developed by Robert Edgerton, 1977, in his urban beach behavior project. Although we have used substantially different dimensions, the model is greatly influenced by Edgerton's original work in this area.

from the physical and social-interaction descriptions of the settings provided by the observers.

These dimensions are not meant to be an exhaustive list of ecological constraints. Rather, they are dimensions of the settings which, through observation by our staff and discussions with participants in the setting, were identified to be salient features of the event. They are distinguishing environmental features by which events can be categorized.

As shown in figure 1, the dimensions include the sacred versus secular purpose of the gathering, location (indoors or outdoors and rural versus urban), the public versus private nature of the event, the ethnic makeup of the event (all-Indian versus predominantly white or other ethnic

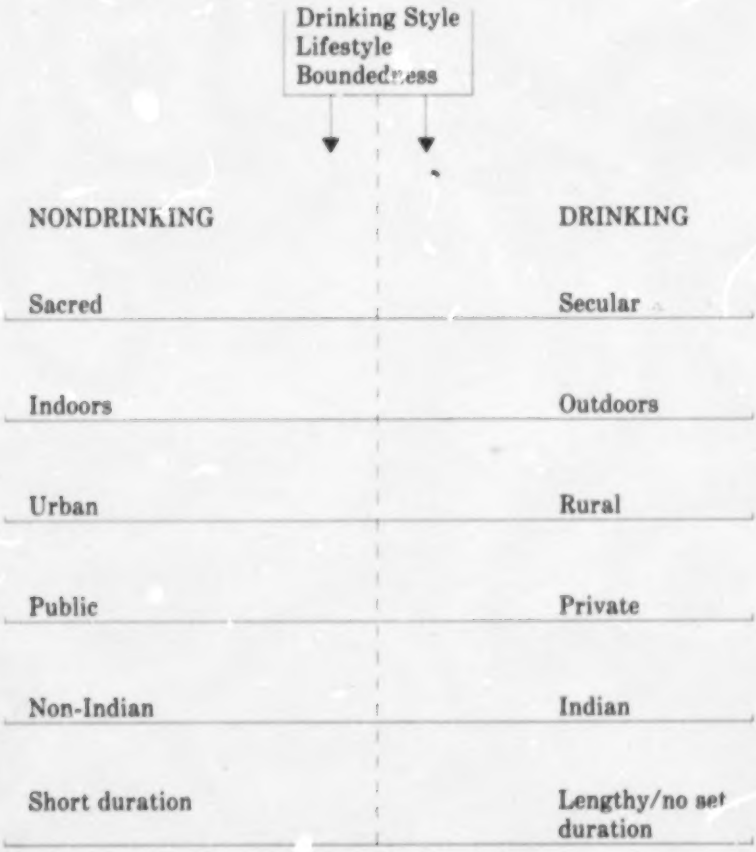

Figure 1. Environmental determinants of drinking behavior.

groups), and the length or duration of the event (short-determined versus long or undetermined).

We used a 5-point scale to rate an event on each of these dimensions.[4] The plots presented in the figures are graphic depictions of the points on each of the dimensions at which an event falls. The ratings were made by the writer based on the descriptions of the events in the field notes. The ratings were corroborated by the field staff and validated by certain participants in the study who had familiarity with the various events. We have developed these scales into a field protocol and are now eliciting participants' ratings of the settings on these scales to compare our ratings of the settings with the perception of the settings by their indigenous members. The protocol also elicits the individual's perception of the amount of drinking that usually occurs in that setting as well as their tribal background, sex, age, and their drinking mode in that setting. In this way we will be able to establish the degree to which our essentially etic constructs are consistent with the emic perception of the settings and the expected drinking behavior given that setting.

The sacred/secular and public/private dimensions are culture-bound perceptions. We elicited Native Americans' evaluations of the extent to which each of the illustrated events was sacred or secular and public or private. For an event to be rated highly sacred there are usually references made to its spiritual themes and activities. The songs and chants performed in these events have religious content. Prayers are offered. Certain paraphernalia used in the dancing and chanting have spiritual significance. Ritualized appeals to forces greater than our own are often performed.

Events that are rated highly secular contain strong elements of fellowship and comradery. Some commercialism is usually associated with secularity. A secular event functions primarily as a means of sharing personal communications, gossip, and group recreational activities. Often secular actitivites focus on a community issue (election of officers to a community center, political rallies, etc.). More often, they are simply times set aside to "have fun," "let your hair down," and "raise some hell."[5] Most Indian events have both social and sacred elements. For an event to be placed on points 2, 3, or 4 on the sacred/secular dimension is an indication of the comparative degree to which sacred or secular elements were present in the event.

[4] The dimensions of the environment rating protocol are included in the addendum of this paper.

[5] The quotation marks around certain phrases and terms used in this paper are not irony markers. Rather, they identify terms that are indigenous to the population under discussion.

The indoor/outdoor, urban/rural, and Indian/non-Indian dimensions are universal measures not influenced by ethnic differences in perceptions or definitions of the concepts. An indoor event takes place in an enclosed structure while an outdoor event takes place in an open, noncarpentured environment. Events that have activities occurring both indoors and outdoors would be rated at points 2, 3, or 4 on the scale, depending on the proportion of activities in each space. The urban/rural continuum is a measure of population density and level of structured development of the setting. Points 2, 3, or 4 on the scale would correspond to diminishing levels of urban density. For instance, an event that occurred in a suburban city might be rated at point 2 on the scale while an event that occurred in a small, rural town in Orange County might be rated a 3 or 4. The Indian/non-Indian dimension measures the relative proportion of Indians to non-Indians in attendance at a given event.

The public/private dimension is a measure of the openness or the accessibility of the event to the public. A public event is well publicized, is usually held in a community facility, and no restrictions are placed on attendance. In fact, tourists and the curious are encouraged to attend public events. A private event is unpublicized, is held in a fairly inaccessible place, and some attempt is made to protect its participants' drinking behaviors from public view and censure. The term "private" is similar in concept to that which Room (1974) describes as "enclaved behavior" and "insulated settings."

> Drinking activity, and particularly heavy drinking, is very largely an enclaved behavior, centering on times and places which are a "time-out" from serious behavior and where the drinker is protected from untoward consequences. . . . Drinking behavior is thus carried on largely within well defined social boundaries, and often with insulations around the drinking situations. . . . A literal example of such insulation is the obscured view or total absence of front windows in many American bars. Passersby are spared any sights of demeanor or behavior within that might offend, and patrons in the bar are accordingly free to engage in behavior which is acceptable in a public bar but might be problematic on the street (Room 1974).

A powwow held in a municipally funded recreational center that is well advertised would be highly public. A party in a person's home would be rated highly private. Fifth Sunday Sings, which are discussed below, are less publicized than powwows and have a more restricted membership. Consequently a Sing would be rated 2 or 3 on the public/private dimension.

For the time continuum, we simply rated a 4-hour event as short, as opposed to, say, a three- or four-day holiday event, which was rated relatively long. There is much reference among Indians to events running on "Indian time." From a non-Indian perspective, "things seem to take longer to get going" than do more time-bounded

Anglo activities. We were, therefore, concerned about the ethnocentricity of our imposed duration judgments. However, through conversations with regular members of the events described in this discussion, we hypothesized that the indigenous perceptions of relative length of events were essentially the same as those we imposed.

So far, we have discussed only those environmental dimensions which have been hypothesized as influencing drinking behavior. We need to stress that our evolving theory of context and behavior is decidedly not an environmental determinist perspective. Who goes where and the kinds of drinking behaviors exhibited in various settings are functions of a delicate interaction of environmental factors and of an individual's sociocultural and psychological makeup. Rather than strict environmentalism, our perspective is a reciprocal or interactional phrasing of man-environmental relations. In this holistic view, a person, particularly his or her cultural behavior and specific environment, are mutually dynamic; they constitute an organized system.

Individuated traits constitute a seventh dimensional constellation that crosscuts the six dimensions illustrated above as horizontal continuums. We have labeled this constellation the boundedness of an event. This dimension is a measure of the individual's rights of membership in the event. Features that influence event membership are tribal identity, level of traditionalism, socioeconomic status, and lifestyle. This configuration appears to be associated with individual drinking style. Membership rights affect both the individual's decision to participate in a given scene and the person's generalized behavior and drinking practices in that setting.

We offer that the interaction of these seven social and environmental dimensions is indicative of the amount and style of drinking that occur in a given setting. Events that fall to the left of the six horizontal continuums (urban, sacred, indoors, public, short, and non-Indian) exhibit none to minimal amounts of drinking. Conversely, events that fall to the right of the continuums (rural, secular, outdoors, private, Indian, and not time bound) exhibit heavy drinking activity. Further, we have found that individuals are sensitive to shifts in the environmental dimensions and adjust their drinking styles and comportment accordingly. If a person's preferred drinking style is in contradiction to a setting's level of tolerance for drinking, attendance at that event is usually curtailed. Conversely, if a person's drinking style is consistent with a setting's level of tolerance for drinking, attendance at that event is predicted, and the preferred drinking style will be exhibited.

Explicit and implicit rules about where, when, and how much drinking may occur are widely acknowledged among the urban Indian

population. Even within settings in which drinking is sanctioned, certain areas are clearly nondrinking spaces. Those participants in the setting who wish to imbibe are restricted to areas in which drinking is permitted. Nondrinking space is strongly associated with spiritual/sacred space, while drinking space is associated with secular space. An indigenous definition of problem drinking is "drinking behavior that violates these socioecological norms."

The following analyses of four urban Indian social settings illustrate how each event plots on the environmental dimensions. The hypothesized drinking levels in these events, given their placement on the dimensional continuums, are discussed. Finally, the hypothesized drinking behaviors are compared with the observed drinking levels and comportment in each setting. Consistencies and discrepancies between the observed and hypothesized behaviors are examined in terms of the interaction between constraining environmental and individual control mechanisms.

Fifth Sunday Sing

Fifth Sunday Sings are held in church on the last Sunday of every month that has five Sundays. They are attended by members of the six all-Indian churches in Los Angeles. A Sing is a mixed social and sacred event strongly influenced by Fundamentalist Christian Evangelism. Participants are primarily Choctaws and other tribal groups from eastern Oklahoma (Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Seminoles) and a small group of southwest tribesmen (Navajos, Maricopas, and Pueblos). It is quasi-public and somewhat timebounded in that it is a one-day affair for most participants. However, food preparation beforehand is the responsibility of the female members of the host church. And informal singing of old-time Gospel favorites continues long into the evening, even after the hardiest members of the spectating congregation have left. The event, therefore, is somewhat less timebounded for the inner circle of regular attendants.

As one would hypothesize, given the placement of the Fifth Sunday Sing on the environmental dimensions, drinking would be minimal at this event (see figure 2). In fact, only the most clandestine drinking occurs at these church meetings. The no-drinking sanction is so ingrained that the subject is not even raised in any public announcements made throughout the day. The few Fifth Sunday Sing regulars who have a drinking problem abstain during this period or drink in such a covert manner that one would be able to surmise drinking had occurred only by changes in interactional style or by the odor of

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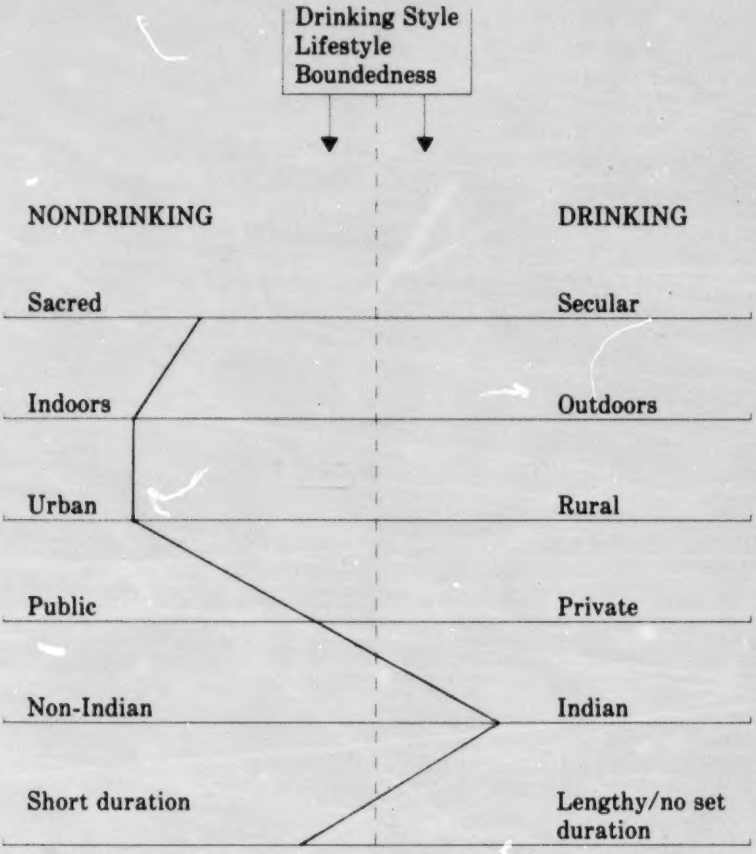

Figure 2. Environmental determinants of drinking behavior at Fifth Sunday Sings.

alcohol on the deviant drinker's breath. The few men who are regulars at Sings are who are suspected of drinking covertly (in a car, down the street, away from the church, or in the church's rear alleyway) would be highly censured if they drank overtly at a Sing.

The most powerful dimensions in this setting are the sacredness of the event and membership boundedness. There is a strong prohibitionist tradition in the Fundamentalist Indian churches of eastern Oklahoma and the southwest (Weibel 1977). The people who attend urban Sings have been enculturated in the tradition of regular attendance at all-day church meetings, weeklong revivals, and summer church campground conferences. In these churches, negative

sanctions on drinking alcoholic beverages are inculcated as children. Abstinence is a way of life for many of the Fifth Sunday Sing regulars, particularly the women. Those of the church-going community who do drink heavily are considered to be deviants and "having a problem." Rather than being ostracized, they are lovingly and tolerantly welcomed into the fold in hope that they will one day "see the light" and stop drinking. They are expected, however, to refrain from drinking during church events, and most do. The unspoken prohibition against drinking in that setting is so pervasive that one regular, a favorite singer and pianist, informed me he stayed away from one Fifth Sunday Sing because he had been drinking heavily for a period of time and felt he did not want to face his friends and family who would be there because he knew they were unhappy about his "backsliding."

Saturday Night Powwow

A powwow is held every weekend somewhere in the Los Angeles area throughout the fall, winter, and spring months. At a powwow, Plains chants are sung to the beat of sacred drums. Men and women, teenagers and small children all wear elaborate northern and southern Plains dance regalia for the occasion and perform the social and honoring dances of their traditions.

The Saturday night powwow is more secular than the Fifth Sunday Sing, but it, too, has strong spiritual origins. Powwows are integral to the ceremonial traditions of the Plains culture groups. In many respects they serve the same spiritual and fellowship functions that the Fifth Sunday Sings do for their culture group members.

The setting is urban public, of limited duration (4 hours), and is usually held indoors in a municipally funded recreation center. Powwows are attended predominately by Indians, although there is usually a smattering of non-Indian spectators. Membership boundedness is a major factor in determining who participates in a powwow. The tribal makeup of the powwow is primarily Plains Indians, with a few Southwestern and Eastern Woodlands tribes represented. The Plains tribes, as a culture area, maintain weaker prohibitions against drinking than do the eastern Oklahoma tribes (Child et al. 1965; Hurt 1965; Kemnitzer 1972; Lemert 1954; Stratton 1977). Consequently, many people who attend powwows have life histories of regular alcohol use (see figure 3).

Given these factors, we hypothesized that there would be minimal amounts of drinking at urban powwows. The ethnographic observations support this hypothesis. However, strong negative sanctions are

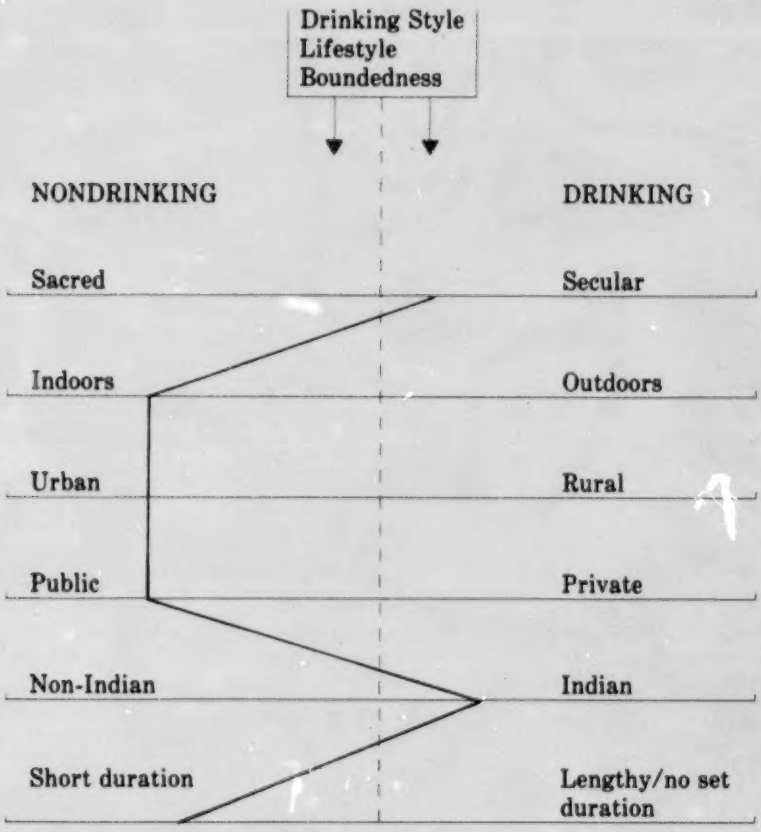

Figure 3. Environmental determinants of drinking behavior at urban Saturday night powwows.

placed on drinking in the urban powwow setting. The sacred nature of the drum, chants, and dances is stressed in the occasional reminders that the event's emcee includes public warnings about drinking. Drinking is prohibited within the dance circle—a sacred space. However, the more pragmatic concern of the hosting powwow clubs—i.e., to maintain *public* facilities as powwow sites—exerts an even stronger negative sanction on drinking at urban powwows. Participants are repeatedly warned over the public address system of the possibility of losing the use of public auditoriums if drinking gets out of hand. Another mechanism used to insure minimal drinking is an internal system of security guards made up of male members of the host powwow clubs.

If an individual desires to drink at a Saturday night powwow, the person usually does so discreetly in the parking lot or in the person's car parked some distance down the street and away from the recreational facilities. Most participants refrain from drinking from 7 to 11 p.m., the traditional Saturday night powwow time period. Some, but minimal amounts of drinking occur during the "49," or purely social singing, held outside the recreation building at the end of the powwow. However, an adaptation to the urban setting is the truncated length of the "49." While "49ing" in rural settings can last all night, accompanied by heavy drinking, the Saturday night urban "49ing" lasts for only the length of two or three favorite "49" songs (about 10 to 15 minutes). Drinking, then, is minimized in this setting through the manipulation of time, setting, spacial segregation, social control agents, and verbalized negative sanctions. Participants who do drink do so covertly or after the powwow's end in a downtown or suburban Indian bar or at home.

Ruralized Weekend Powwows

These Indian social gatherings, although attended by urban Indians, are held in rural settings, usually outdoors, over an extended time period, and are even *more predominately Indian* in makeup than the urban Saturday night powwows. Usually held in a secluded suburban woodland area or on one of the 19 Indian missions reservations in San Diego County, these settings provide considerably more privacy and protection from public scrutiny than do urban Saturday night powwow settings. These annual events usually begin on Friday night and extend over a three- or four-day holiday weekend. Since the event falls far to the right on all but the sacred/secular dimension, it can be hypothesized that extensive drinking occurs during the event. Our field observations confirm this hypothesis. The heaviest drinking we observed occurred in these settings. See figure 4.

The unboundedness of time and the rural, private, and predominantly Indian dimensions of the setting all allow for relatively unrestricted drinking among those powwow participants who view the event as essentially social and who maintain a heavy drinking style.

To underscore the power of environmental shifts on drinking behavior, the people who attend the ruralized powwows are essentially the same people who attend urban Saturday night powwows. People who drink moderately or abstain, continue to do so in this environment. However, people who drink heavily but who would refrain from doing so in the urban, time-bound powwow environment are not expected to refrain from drinking in this setting. At rural powwows

license is given to chronic heavy or binge drinkers to engage in "some serious drinking."

The dimension that provides a restraint on the drinking at rural powwows is the sacred aspect of the chanting and drumming. The dance circle or area in which the dancing takes place is not one designated spiritual place, but concentric rings of diminished sacredness. The drum is referred to as the heart of the dance, the center of its energy. The drumming, called the heartbeat or pulse of the dance, is the unifying energy of the event. There are strong drinking prohibitions around the drum and its immediate area, the most sacred space of the powwow setting.

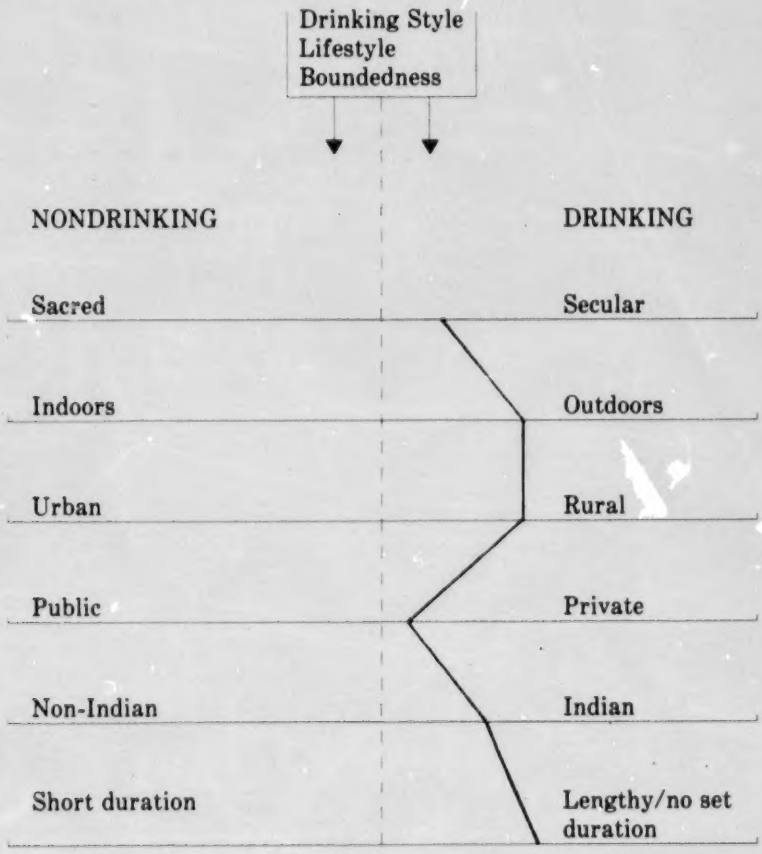

Figure 4. Environmental determinants of drinking behavior at ruralized weekend powwows.

The next division of space is the ring around the drummers. This space, which usually has a 20-foot radius, is the area in which the participants dance. While occupying a space less sacred than the drum circle, the dancers have more intercourse with the spiritual center of the dance than do the spectators. For this privilege, the dancers observe certain prohibitions. The women must wear at least a dance shawl over their shoulders as they move around the drum. The elaborately costumed male dancers take great care in the assembly of their dance dress. Certain feathers, flutes, and medicine pouches, handed down from one generation to the next, are prayed over or are specially prepared and arranged by the family for the dances. Strong drinking prohibitions also apply to this area.

Beyond the dance space is another ring, also about 20 feet in radius. Nondancing spectators sit in this transitional space in which sacred and secular elements of the event meet. Spectators can either sit passively or dance. Onlookers are predominantly Indian with only a few non-Indian tourists or affines in attendance. It is an intertribal and multigenerational assembly. Some drinking occurs in this area.

The heaviest drinkers restrict their drinking to a fourth space located in the outer regions beyond the circle of spectators—in the concession, camping, and parking areas. This spacial separation of sacred and secular activities parallels the Levi-Strauss (1963) model of sacred and profane space, the symbolic separation of space into places inhabited by men and places inhabited by spirits.

In fact, the analogy to the Levi-Strauss model of sacred and profane space can be carried one step further. Beyond the drinking and encampment areas of the rural powwow, there often are open fields or woods which, in effect, symbolize the separation of the man-ruled world (society) and the domain of the bush (a place in which man-made rules no longer apply). It is in this space that much of the alcohol-induced, antisocial behaviors occur which are the sequelae of three days of continuous drinking (fighting, passing out, seductions).

Traditionally, there would have been no alcoholic beverages allowed at powwows. People would have abstained and purified themselves for days prior to the event. In these more secular times, the rules are relaxed. Neighbors and friends occasionally chide the few spectators who do violate the rules and conspicuously drink in the dance ring. However, heavy, continuous drinking is expected behavior beyond the dance circle. The drinkers rationalize their drinking by minimizing the sacredness of the event. It is seen as commercial (cash prizes are paid to winners of dance contests) and nontraditional. There is considerable cultural borrowing (Apaches wear Southern Plains dress, synthetic materials are often used to make dance regalia, and everyone sings everyone else's songs). For drinkers, the rural powwow is

primarily a social event. It is time away from the urban routine. It is a setting in which a person is given license to "kick back" and "raise a little hell."

In contrast to the urban "49ing," which occurs immediately after the close of the formal urban powwow program and lasts only 10 to 15 minutes, the rural "49ing" does not usually begin until an hour or more after the end of the dance contests. It often lasts until sunrise and is accompanied by continuous drinking, singing, and dancing, with participants' arms linked to display Indian solidarity.

Among those Indians aware of the possible medical, social, political, and legal implications of three or four days of unrestricted drinking, certain indigenous precautions and proscriptions about unchecked drinking at rural powwows have developed recently. At a three-day powwow given in celebration of the end of the Longest Walk, stringent precautions were imposed to limit substance abuse among participants. Signs that forbade alcoholic beverages, drugs, and weapons were displayed everywhere. Scores of security guards, alert to signs of discord or agitation, patrolled the parkgrounds with walkie-talkies. Onlookers suspected of being intoxicated or troublemakers were stopped, searched, and, if intoxicated, escorted away from the campgrounds. People who did drink were spacially separated from the nondrinking majority—in the parking lot, in campers, away from the activity itself. The sacredness of the pipe ceremony at sunrise was stressed.

Officials of a powwow held on a San Diego County reservation over a Labor Day weekend were more tolerant. Jokes about the magnitude of the drinking the night before were broadcast over the public address system. Heavy drinking on the part of people who viewed the event as essentially social was expected behavior in that setting. Only the mildest pleas were made to restrain the drinking to certain nonsacred areas away from the drum. However, the dancing and contests purposely were ended a day early that year so that participants could have all day Monday to "straighten out" (sober up) and prepare for the drive home and work the following day. Even in settings in which heavy drinking is expected behavior, we found indigenous control mechanisms such as spacial segregation and the manipulation of time which serve to mitigate the more devastating effects of three or four days of binge drinking by the heavy drinking cliques who attend ruralized powwows specifically for that recreational activity.

Urban Indian Bars

It is difficult to generalize about the environmental constraints and drinking comportment in urban Indian bars. Contrary to Price's

(1978) opinion about the diminished role of urban Indian bars as social service institutions, we found that there are still six or seven bars in the downtown, Bell Gardens, and South Gate areas of Los Angeles that cater to large, relatively stable, Indian clientele. Each of these bars can be categorized by one of four distinct types of customers who patronize them: skid row inhabitants; the younger, newly arrived, and working class people; the upwardly mobile and athletic crowds; and the community leadership clique. Each type of bar appears to have evolved its own set of rules about acceptable drinking comportment, and these rules effect a distinctive drinking style among clientele.

Some participants in the study frequent all four types of Indian bars, and their drinking and interactional styles appear to shift with the setting. However, most individuals frequent with greatest regularity the bar setting that serves a clientele closely paralleling their own lifestyle, community status, and preferred drinking style.

Bars are indoor settings, urban, totally secular in function, and are more private than public. Relatively unbounded by time, bars close at 2 a.m. in Los Angeles, and most open by 6 a.m., seven days a week, leaving only 4 hours in the early morning when access to a bar is impossible.

Figure 5 demonstrates the contradictory dimensional constraints of bar settings. All the bars are urban, indoors, and have some aspects of a public event, although they are more private than public in nature. These environmental dimensions provide a certain amount of constraint on total disinhibition in settings in which drinking with one's Indian friends is the expected behavior and for which the establishments provide relatively unlimited access. The contradictory environmental cues provide for the development of an individual adaptive behavior which is known indigenously as "maintaining."

Maintaining is not an Indian-specific concept and behavioral pattern; rather, it is cross-ethnic but subgroup-bound. It is a mode of behavior particular to the heavy alcohol and/or drug user. To maintain, one drinks "to get a buzz on" and to be "feeling good." One drinks continually and steadily. However, maintainers monitor their physical and consciousness states in such a way that their behavior continues to be socially acceptable and competent. People who drink until they are "sloppy drunk," "a pest," "not able to carry on a decent conversation," or "passed out" are subject to the negative sanctions of other people in the bar. They are made the butt of jokes and tricks (stolen boots, hats), are fair game to the jack roller, and are usually publicly censured by friends or mates.

On the other hand, people who maintain are valued. These heavy drinkers are able to keep up the flow of nonserious conversation and "Indian humor" in a steady stream of repartees and teasing insults.

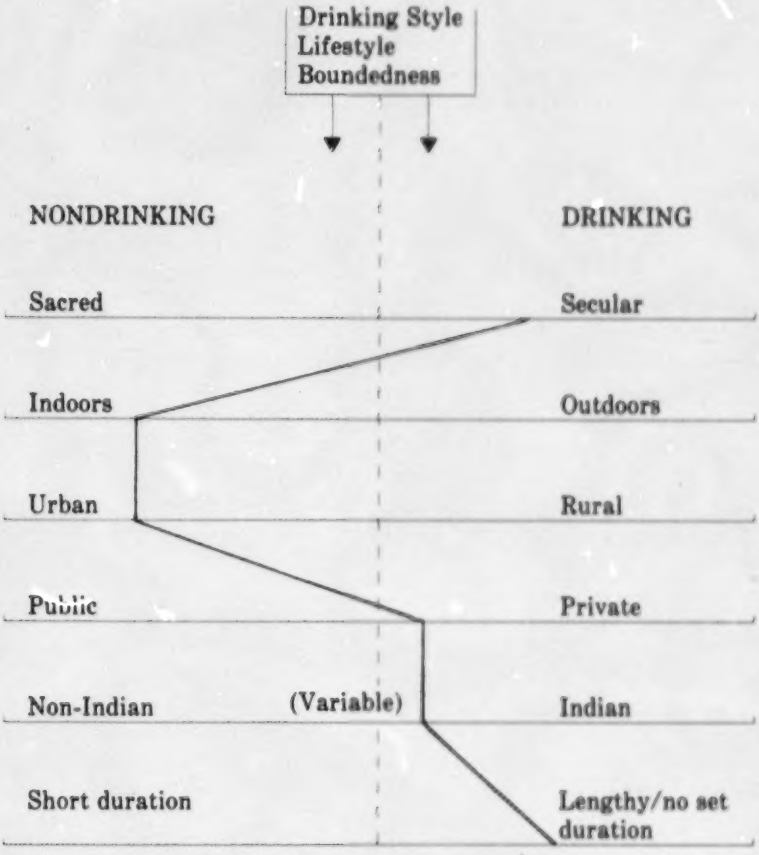

Figure 5. Environmental determinants of drinking behavior at urban Indian bars.

They are still able to dance, shoot pool, buy the next round, take care of themselves or friends in case of a physical attack, and drive home after the bars close.

Maintainers are an asset and contribute positvely to the ongoing social interactions in the bar. They do not become a burden to their drinking companions, or start fights, or muscle-in on another person's "party." In other words, they monitor their drinking and comportment in such a way that standard working- and middle-class bar etiquette is observed.

Our informants offered the following explanations for why the concept of maintaining is salient among the regulars at Indian bars.

Drinking in urban Indian bars is essentially the social lubricant for the more important social-interactional aspects of the settings—the sociability, comfortableness, and feelings of well-being one receives from "hanging out with one's people" (Waddell 1971). Sociability wanes when people overimbibe. For the good of the "party," most people in the bar setting attempt to monitor their drinking in such a way that they don't "get loaded and spoil the fun."

Because Indian bars are the setting for potential trouble (fights, police raids, group arrests), it is important to minimize behavior that would make it necessary for the management of the bar to call in the police. To achieve this goal, the regular Indian bar clientele adheres to the principle of "maintaining."

For those who say they maintain, the behavior is an adaptation to the urban Indian drinking milieu. Acutely aware of the negative stereotype of Indians as not being able to handle their liquor (MacAndrew and Edgerton 1969) and the arbitrary nature with which the police enforce public inebriation restrictions, particularly in the areas in which Indians congregate to drink (Graves 1970), Native American drinkers have adopted maintaining as a precautionary measure. It is the mechanism by which one avoids police involvement and community censure. On a personal social-interactional level, it is the control mechanism by which one participates and augments the ongoing "partyness" of the bar setting.

The boundedness dimensions (ethnicity and predominant lifestyle) influence which bars are attended regularly by drinking cliques and the ensuing drinking behavior exhibited in those settings. In the one bar in which the clientele is predominantly white and which is frequented regularly by Indians who work in the various mid- and downtown Indian social service organizations, the Indian drinking behaviors are indistinguishable from those of the lower middle-class white clientele.

One participant informed us that one of the bars, "The Club,"[6] was purposely chosen as a spot in which "we could get away from the Indians who get mean and want to start something or who don't have their own money and are always hustling you for drinks." I have used the pseudonym, The Club, purposely because this away-from-the-mainstream bar does, in fact, approximate a private, bounded drinking place for a select group of Indians who have developed and observe their own rules of bar etiquette and carefully monitor who gains membership rights to it. The Club's "charter" members have a verbal agreement with the bar's owner to do just that. At the Grass Hut (a

[6] All names of bars used in this paper are fictitious. We chose to use coined names to protect the privacy of the bars' clienteles—one of the more important and attractive dimensions of the bar settings themselves.

pseudonym for a working-class suburban Indian bar), boisterousness, challenges, hustling, and gross intoxication are expected behaviors. If these behaviors were exhibited at The Club, the offender would be asked to leave, a taxi would be provided for him, or he would be driven home by a friend and asked not to return.

The weekend drinking spree is a well-documented phenomenon of Indian drinking (Kemnitzer 1972; Kuttner and Lorincz 1967; Levy and Kunitz 1974; Littman 1964; MacAndrew and Edgerton 1969). In the urban setting it takes on the further adaptation of bar hopping or "making the rounds"; i.e., going from one Indian drinking establishment to another, usually ending up at an after-hours spot. The Levee, a fast food(s) outlet in the skid row area of downtown Los Angeles which boasts a huge parking lot, is the after-hours place most frequented by Indians in Los Angeles. Relatively unrestricted drinking, socializing, "49ing," and occasional acts of aggression occur every weekend at The Levee from approximately 2:15 a.m. to 5:00 a.m.

Environmental constraints so influence drinking comportment that changes in individual drinking styles have been noted as a person passes from one bar setting to another. A person observed maintaining at The Club at 11 p.m. may also be seen "passing the bottle," "49ing," and "snagging with the best of them" at The Levee at 3 a.m. the next morning. However, while most people make behavioral adjustments to the environment, they do have preferred drinking settings and styles that are strongly associated with their lifestyle.

Conclusions

We cannot generalize about an urban Indian drinking pattern. Why, where, how, and how much one drinks and the behavioral consequences of those drinking styles are sensitive to a complex of social and environmental dimensions. Certain indigenous control mechanisms have developed in settings in which controlled drinking or strict negative sanctions on drinking occur.

We have demonstrated that Indians who do drink are well aware of the possible negative consequences of uninhibited public inebriation in an urban setting and have developed strategies by which negative social consequences, for the most part, can be avoided. Indians can and do manipulate their social environments. Successful strategies, such as limiting the length of time in which unchecked drinking is permitted, holding events in urban, indoor settings, including internal security forces and other nontribal people in the event, and introducing sacred, nonsecular aspects to events are measures by which environmental controls can be exerted to minimize the extent to which drinking goes unchecked and is socially

maladaptive. Identification of dimensional shifts which successfully inhibit drinking can be an additional social control strategy of use to Indian event organizers.

Adoption of the self-monitoring technique of maintaining is a personal, internal control mechanism which may be an alternative drinking strategy or style for drinkers who feel they drink too much and, when inebriated, act out in socially inapproprite ways, but for whom the lure of the convivial drinking scene is too powerful and the austerity of total abstinence is too high a price to pay for social acceptability.

Individuals can and do choose to participate in and exhibit behaviors from among repertoires of drinking settings and styles. Why people choose to participate in a given setting at a given time is influenced by their socioeconomic status, age, tribal background, level of traditionalism, and predominant drinking style.

Controlled drinkers alter their drinking style and comportment in accordance with certain environmental cues. Drinkers who misread or ignore the cues are considered deviant. Indigenous indicators of deviant drinking comportment are violations of sacred space and obvious intoxication in public, non-Indian settings and in settings in which maintaining and sociability have become the normative drinking comportment.

ADDENDUM

SCALE

Please indicate by circling the number on the scale from 1 to 5 which descriptions correspond most closely with how you would describe this event.

Very Sacred/ Spiritual	More Sacred Than Not	Somewhat Sacred	Not Very Sacred/ Spiritual	Not Sacred/ Spiritual at All
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
Held Completely Indoors	Mostly Held Indoors	As Much Indoors as Outdoors	Held Mostly Outdoors	Held Completely Outdoors
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
Completely Urban Setting	More Urban Than Rural Setting	As Urban As It Is Rural	More Rural Than Urban Setting	Completely Rural Setting
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
Completely Public Setting	More Public Than Private	As Public as It Is Private	More Private Than Public	Very Private Setting
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....

Continued on following page

ADDENDUM—*Continued*

Exclusively Non-Indian	More Non-Indians Than Indians	As Many Indians as Non-Indians	More Indians Than Non-Indians	Exclusively Indian
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
Very Short Event	Less Than Average Length	Average Length Indian Event	Somewhat Lengthy Event	Very Lengthy Event
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
Not Social At All	Not Very Social	Somewhat Social	Social	Very Social
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
No Alcohol Consumption	Some Alcohol Consumption	A Fair Amount of Alcohol Consumption	Heavy Alcohol Consumption	Extremely Heavy Alcohol Consumption
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND CONSIDERATION!

NAME OF EVENT _____

DATE OF EVENT _____

TRIBAL AFFILIATION OF PARTICIPANT _____

SEX M ___ F _____

AGE _____

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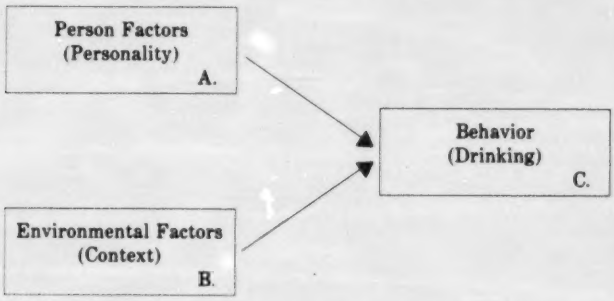
Some Problematic Aspects of Research on Drinking Contexts

Richard Jessor

Among the more intractable problems in behavioral science is the conceptualization and measurement of the environment of action. The papers in this conference represent a variety of approaches to that problem, all concerned with some aspect of drinking and all seeking to make that behavior more understandable. Rather than deal with the separate papers, I want to direct my comments at one or two general issues in thinking about and doing research on the contexts of drinking.

When we try to explain social behavior of any sort, we usually seek to link its occurrence and its variation to two sets of factors: person factors, or personality; and environmental factors, or the situation or context. The explanatory network can be schematized simply as follows:



The conceptual and empirical focus of this conference has been on Box B in the schema—the environmental factors and the ways in which they influence drinking behavior—and the papers have each "unpacked" the environment box in one or another fashion. Unpacking the concept of the environment makes very clear that there are multiple ways of dealing with it, and my initial remarks address this fundamental issue.

The most obvious way of dealing with the environment is as a physicogeographic space or a location where the action of interest happens to take place. In several of the papers presented at this conference, authors adopted this strategy, locating drinking settings that were of particular interest such as a campus pub, an Indian powwow, a skid row bar, or a restaurant with afternoon dancing. Interest in certain settings may derive from their accessibility to observation, or because they are places where alcohol use is characteristically heavy, or because they constitute a situation in which alcohol is newly available; but, whatever the reason for the special interest, the environment is dealt with as a place or as a location where drinking occurs.

A second way of unpacking the environment is in terms of certain obvious or descriptive dimensions rather than its location as a place. Thus, as in several of the papers, the concern is with the demographic composition of the setting—its sex-ratio, the ethnic mix, or the size of drinking groups—and with the kind of setting it is—whether it is indoor or outdoor, secluded or open to view, rural or urban. Although the language for the environment remains descriptive rather than theoretical, it is language that is already suggestive for variation in drinking behavior. Drinking in an open air setting or a rural setting suggests the possibility of less surveillance than in an indoor urban setting and, perhaps, of more insulation against negative consequences for excessive alcohol use.

A third level of analysis of environmental contexts seeks to capture the shared or consensual *meanings* of the situation, the "label" it carries for those who participate in it. The notion of "a party" is an example of the consensual meaning of a situation that carries with it implications for drinking. People know what a party is and know that certain kinds of behavior are permitted at parties that may not be permitted in other settings, at "a meeting," for example, even though the very same people may be involved. Parties, ceremonials, recreation times, time-outs—all are terms that convey a general sense of the shared significance or the symbolic meaning of the setting and thereby implicate the kind of behavior expected to occur.

In contrast to these three levels of descriptive concepts about the environment, there is a fourth level that is explicitly theoretical. It is an attempt to unpack the environment box in terms of certain abstract dimensions or underlying attributes that can be applied to all situations irrespective of their location, their composition, or their shared significance. Now the terms are what Kurt Lewin referred to as "genotypes"—the more abstract characteristics—as against "phenotypes"—the more obvious, apparent, descriptive characteristics. At this fourth level, then, the focus is on terms like "social controls,"

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informal or otherwise, "norms," "access" or "availability" of alcohol, "models" for heavy drinking, and so on. A concern with such abstract dimensions or properties of drinking contexts can be especially revealing. They make it possible to establish the similarity of situations that may appear to be very different descriptively; and they permit us to differentiate among situations that appear to be descriptively the same. Reliance on theoretical language has the additional advantage of yielding propositions about drinking behavior that are of greater generality than those using descriptive terms. For example, a theoretical proposition that can apply across a variety of contexts—whether a drinking house, a powwow, a campus pub, a neighborhood bar, or an afternoon dance—might be: "the stronger the social controls in a drinking situation, the lower the likelihood of excessive alcohol use."

The final way of unpacking the environment box that I want to comment upon involves terms that capture the personal perceptions of the individual actors in the situation, terms that describe the environment *as it is perceived.* These perceptions of situations need not be shared and consensual; rather they are intended to reflect individual differences among the participants in a given setting as to the meaning the situation has for them, and can, therefore, be entirely idiosyncratic. Thus, while a party may, for most people, be a setting in which affection is exchanged, for a particular individual it may be a setting in which to gain recognition and admiration from others. That environments can be constituted in terms of the myriad ways they are perceived by different participants is a salutary reminder to us that an exhaustive analysis of the environment box cannot be achieved without systematic attention to the personality box, Box A in the schema.

The point of these remarks is to emphasize that the environment is problematic. Not only is it not "there" as something merely needing to be noted, something obvious and immediately apparent, but it also persists in being a concept of disturbing complexity. The properties of the environment, rather than being ready-to-hand, need instead to be constituted by the investigator. And the five different levels of analysis that have just been mentioned should be seen as different ways of doing just that. That is, they represent five alternative, *simultaneously applicable* ways of defining a context or a situation in which drinking or other behavior occurs.

If these various levels of analysis are indeed alternatives that can be employed in grasping any given context, why is it that certain investigators choose to work at one level of analysis while others choose a different level? In short, what accounts for the heterogeneity of environmental description across the various papers we've heard

in this conference? Part of the answer lies in the traditions of particular disciplines and in traditional ways of working within the different disciplines. To be an ethnographer is to approach the task of environmental description very differently from the way a social psychologist would, or a sociologist interested in social structure. Part of the answer lies also in the nature and requirements of the problem addressed; if one wishes to account, say, for why drunkenness is more prevalent in one setting than another, the task will be approached quite differently than if one wishes to account for why some persons get drunk and others remain sober in the very *same* setting. An interest in prevalence may encourage descriptive environmental language, while an interest in individual differences may encourage perceived environment language.

Once the problematic nature of the environment is recognized and the limitations and advantages of the alternative levels of analysis are understood, efforts might well be made in research on drinking contexts to go beyond the narrow confines of tradition and discipline, to expand the boundaries of customary description, and to examine the degree of covariation that obtains among the alternative ways of conceptualizing the environment. More particularly, greater attention might be given to theoretical dimensions of context in research that has traditionally remained descriptive. Such efforts could yield a significant advance in our understanding of the role of contextual factors in drinking behavior and alcohol abuse.

Whatever the level or type of language used to deal with the environment, most efforts to study contexts have emphasized their structure or content and have yielded accounts of situations that are essentially static. Thus, it has been intriguing to see in several of the conference papers that attention is being paid to the *dynamics* of situations, to understanding those contextual processes that give rise to changes in situations and behavior over time. An obvious source of such change is attributable to alcohol ingestion per se and to its disinhibition effects on the participants. Thus, blood alcohol levels can constitute an aspect of a drinking situation that has significant potential for transforming it in more or less predictable ways. Reduction in self-awareness with increased intake was posited as another dynamic for change in drinking contexts. Also noteworthy was the emphasis on the dynamics inherent in the size of drinking groups and the attempts to model the relation between group size and amount of alcohol consumed. Finally, consideration of the norms in a drinking situation provides another basis for a dynamic; norms are, after all, rarely unambiguous or equally clear to all participants, and efforts to clarify norms and to bracket the range of acceptable behavior may well result in changing the nature of the drinking context. Clearly, it

is a major challenge of the future to catch better hold of the dynamics in the environment box, the dialectics that characterize social situations in general and drinking situations in particular.

Turning to the methods used in the studies presented at this conference, I was impressed by their diversity and by the sense of openness about their advantages and limitations that emerged in the discussions. It is clear that while contexts can be studied in a variety of ways—by naturalistic observation, both emic and etic, by structured surveys, by intensive interviews, and even by laboratory experiments—the information and understanding they yield will vary in corresponding ways. For example, while an observational approach can preserve the contour and texture of a particular drinking situation or experience, it is very difficult from survey data to reconstitute the concrete phenomena about which generalizations have been made. On the other hand, recognition of variability is inherent in surveys whereas there is pressure to reduce heterogeneity and to arrive at a homogeneous modal picture in much of ethnographic description.

Awareness of the relative advantages and disadvantages of particular methods argues strongly for a research strategy that relies upon *multiple* methods. An amalgamation or comingling of traditionally separate methods provides an enormous inferential advantage when the information from the different methods converges. Thus, while a customary method of studying drinking contexts is to observe behavior in bars, such studies can be strengthened by adding to the overall research strategy interviews with participants as they leave the bar. In community studies, it is possible not only to observe drinking situations and then to interview participants, but also to carry out surveys of the general population in the area served by the bar. In short, I want to urge that research on drinking contexts become more cosmopolitan, more comprehensive, and thus more compelling by incorporating wherever possible a strategy that relies on multiple methods.

Let me conclude these brief remarks by recalling your attention to the schematic diagram with which we began. The papers in this conference have attended, and quite properly so, to the environmental factors that are contained in Box B. They have convincingly demonstrated how much can be learned about the environment of drinking by studying it directly. But now I want to suggest that studies of the environment can be significantly enhanced by studying behavior and personality as well, that is, the factors in Boxes A and C. To say that the environment is problematic is really to say that its

properties depend on the nature of the behavior to be explained and the nature of the person engaged in it. Research on drinking needs ultimately to encompass the larger network in which environment, person, and behavior are inextricably linked.

Drinkers' Experience in Alcohol Studies

Lawrence S. Gaines and Cameron McLaughlin

All studies of alcohol use begin with or are justified by a single truism: alcohol changes human experience. Biochemical studies have quantitatively accounted for alcohol's effect; and behavioral studies, as well as countless cultural traditions of alcohol use, confirm it. Yet psychologists have consistently shunned investigations of the obvious changes alcohol produces in human consciousness.

If alcohol is the staple consciousness-altering drug of modern culture, its magic known and observed since the beginning of civilization, why then has the commonsense puzzle implied by its ancient role—how does it change experience, and why?—been consigned to philosophers and artists, or, more recently, converted from a problem of qualitative analysis to a subject for behavioral and biochemical measurement? After all the data have been gathered, all the mechanisms logged and forged into systems, the fundamental conundrum of alcohol studies remains: How and why does a drinker believe alcohol can change him?

Because psychologists and other social scientists seldom examine the human nature claims implicit in their research, their assumptions must often be discerned by others. In the papers of this monograph, to be sure, several assumptions emerge about the nature of human experience within different environments that future alcohol studies cannot ignore.

In considering drinkers within their natural environments, studies by Gusfield and Weibel reveal a conception of human activity as purposeful behavior performed by cognitive agents. Relying on natural language as their primary data, these studies suggest that drinking is influenced both by the situation in which it occurs and by antecedent cognitive events, or symbolizations of drinking's meaning, that drinkers express in ordinary discourse. In short, Gusfield's and Weibel's findings indicate that internal mental processes—understandings, beliefs, and purposes—are major determinants of drinking and the situations in which people drink.

Participant observer studies also support the view that drinking is a meaningful act whose context is influenced by the drinker's repertoire of beliefs about himself and alcohol. In those studies presented here, drinkers reconstructed their actions in purposive terms. Since a purpose is comprehensible only in reference to its goal or intention, drinking described in this way must be considered a goal-oriented, cognitively governed, and symbolic activity. Future studies must form purposive explanatory schemata, in addition to traditional causal explanations, to account for the dominance of cognition and intention in this methodology.

These two features—drinking's cognitive antecedents and the symbolic meaning of drinking situations—reveal that the prime instrument of interaction between the drinker and the environment is the self—and the experiential change that the self seeks through intoxication.

Gusfield, Weibel, and Gaines discuss operations of the self in terms of the drinker's representations of situations, focusing on the drinker's interpretation of himself within those situations. Gusfield and Weibel show the agency of this self-awareness in drinkers' ability to monitor themselves, modify the stylistic appearance of their actions according to rules, and account for their behavior across situations. Expressed in commonsense language, these representations can be considered intelligent, language-mediated indices of the self's interchange with the environment.

Gusfield discusses self-perceptions in reference to subjective and social criteria—specifically, to standards of competence. In order to gauge his competence to drink and drive, a drinker must first assess his investment and display of self in those events, compare it to social rules for competent behavior, determine the risk of denigrating the self's competence in that situation, and finally act in order to defend the self. Likewise, Weibel demonstrates that drinkers can anticipate the consequences of their drinking and shape their activity in accord with situational rules, knowledge of possible consequences, and situational feedback. Thus, "maintaining," as she terms it, within urban Indian settings, is also a form of self-monitored rule following.

This rule-following, self-monitoring aspect of drinking behavior concurs with other evidence that the drinker's locus of control resides within himself, or the self. Although intoxication, by definition, may severely constrain a drinker's capacity to act autonomously, studies show that drinkers feel themselves the legislators of their own drinking. Conversely, loss of control over drinking is experienced as attenuated involvement in one's own activity, or abdication of the self.

Theorizing more generally about the role of self-monitoring and rule-following in the drinker's conception of himself as a drinker,

Gaines hypothesizes that awareness of situation and of self are inextricable: drinkers experience alcohol use as an attempt to change the meaning of situations by changing their self-awareness of those situations. Without such self-conscious awareness and preexisting schemata, or rules, for interpreting the self within a situation, drinkers in these studies could neither have commented on nor even recalled their activity. The matter of this self-consciousness is self-knowledge, or interpretations placed on substantive information about one's behavior; and its mechanism is the self-monitoring process that both renders the drinker's activity available and intelligible and provides the negative feedback that inhibits inappropriate drinking plans from being realized. Self-monitoring thus provides the means for the self's activity as mediator between the individual and his environment.

Generally, the research papers by Gusfield and Weibel and the theoretical commentary by Gaines all emphasize how drinkers see themselves, their purposes for drinking, and the rules they follow to achieve their goals in drinking. These representations of self and of situation are linked to beliefs about drinking, are expressed in natural language, and are presented as accounts or commentaries. Much drinking is determined, they show, by drinkers' beliefs about themselves as drinkers within specific settings. Further, these studies suggest that the only type of theory that can accommodate both the self-concept and drinking is one linked to drinkers' own commonsense beliefs about themselves and their drinking. In order to investigate drinking behavior thoroughly, future alcohol studies must acknowledge and fully consider these symbolic factors at the level of cognition and meaning in addition to more easily reducible determinants at the level of physiological and pharmacological mechanics.

The symbolic model of drinking and its accompanying consideration of the self are related to a recently growing emphasis in psychology and sociology on the psychological meaning of human action. For Mead (1934), the self is a social and cognitive product, inseparable from its context.

> The essence of the self is cognitive: it lies in the internalized conversation of gestures which constitutes thinking, or in terms of which thought or reflection proceeds. And hence the origins and foundations of the self, like those of thinking, are social (Mead 1934, p. 173).

In his view, the individual becomes aware of himself through social interaction by assuming others' attitudes and responding symbolically to his own behavior in childhood game-playing. The context of his awareness is conditioned by others' reactions to him, and the meaning of his behavior is primarily defined by others. This concept of the generalized other, the "attitude of a whole community," is part of a contextual conception of individual behavior and the self. If we

cannot conceive action apart from the self, then neither can we conceptualize the self apart from the social context.

In studying drinking, then, we must conceptualize the drinker's context in two ways: objectively, as its physical artifacts exist external to him, and cognitively, as the drinker symbolizes it. These papers by Gaines, Gusfield, and Weibel, suggest that alcohol studies consider drinkers as products partly of their own symbolization and other social practices. In order to account for the drinker's conscious, self-monitored rule-following, we must devise measures for this level of symbolization, or ability to represent contexts cognitively. Inquiries into the meaning of behavior are not the abstruse undertaking of an obscure philosophy; they are the heart of our work. The sum of our knowledge about alcohol will represent no advancement over past information unless future studies consider what drinking and drinking contexts mean to the individual. In short, we must now add the ideas of the drinker—his commonsense meanings and representations of drinking as a purposive human experience—to our own inferences about alcohol use.

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A Note on Observational Studies of Drinking and Community Responses*

Robin Room

The concept of observational studies covers a wide variety of approaches and possible subject matter. We can observe objects, spatial relations, individual behaviors, or interactions. The observations can be reported as a straightforward description, in formalistic or structural terms, or in quantitative terms. All these kinds of topics and approaches have been used in alcohol studies. Observational studies are taken here to exclude studies requiring some response—to a questionnaire, etc.—from those studied.

Many studies, even those characterized as "observational" studies, use a mixture of methods. The boundary between eliciting conversation by a participant observer and unstructured inquiries by an interviewer is faint.

Here we will mention only briefly observational studies of objects and spatial relations. A number of studies have mapped the number, types, and locations of drinking establishments in the community in discussing their functions and social position (See Calkins 1901, first edition; Mass Observation 1943; Pfautz and Hyde 1960; Cavan 1966). A few studies have mapped and discussed the spatial arrangements inside drinking establishments and their implications (e.g., Mass Observation 1943; Sommer 1969). A few studies have counted and mapped the detritus of drinking—beer cans, bottles, etc. Counting the litter in a given area is an inexpensive, unobtrusive way of monitoring changes in drinking patterns. One study in Arizona used archaeological methods to examine nutritional and drinking patterns as revealed in people's garbage (Harrison et al. 1974).

Observational studies of behaviors and interactions can be divided into laboratory studies and studies of people in their "natural" settings. We will not here concern ourselves with laboratory observational studies, except to remark that a recent comparative

* Prepared for the World Health Organization international study of Community Response to Alcohol Problems.

observational study showed quantitative differences in behavior in the two types of settings (Billings et al. 1976). The classic studies by Bruun (1959*a*; 1959*b*) fall on the borderline between the two types since he used natural groups, and, to the extent possible, naturalistic settings, in a laboratory observational study of drinking behavior.

The literature on naturalistic observational studies of drinking-related behavior and interactions falls into a number of major traditions, according to topic.

The large tradition of anthropological studies of drinking in traditional cultures contains many observational studies. A lengthy bibliography of such studies has been compiled by Heath (1976). The typical study makes an overall characterization of drinking customs and institutions in the culture. There are a smaller number of studies in the same tradition characterizing drinking customs and institutions in industrialized cultures, although these studies usually focus on nonindustrial, nonurban segments of the culture—typically the small town (e.g., Stone 1962; Warriner 1958; Honigmann 1963). These latter studies draw both on anthropological traditions and on the lively tradition of the small-town study which flourished among American sociologists from the 1930s through the 1950s.

There is a large literature of observational studies in taverns and other public drinking places. See the following references: Calkins 1919; Stolte 1937–1938; Mass Observation 1943; Lorenzo 1953; Gottlieb 1957; Richards 1963–64; Sommer 1965; Cavan 1966; Dumont 1967; Roebuck and Spray 1967; Ossenberg 1969; Kim 1973; Kessler and Gomberg 1974; Cutler and Storm 1975; Kruse 1975; LeMasters 1975; Spradley and Mann 1975; Harford et al. 1976; Roebuck and Frese 1976; Kotarba 1977; Plant et al. 1977. Some of these studies are oriented toward characterizing the tavern as an institution and some toward exploring sociability in the tavern. A spate of recent articles has been concerned with quantifying the pattern and amount of drinking under different circumstances. A scattering of studies in the tavern and anthropological literatures have focused on drinking at festivals or at other special occasions (e.g., Ossenberg 1969).

There is a tradition of observational studies of skid-row and street drinking among chronic inebriates—e.g., Jackson and Connor 1953; Rooney 1961; Dumont 1967; Rubington 1968; Spradley 1970, 1972*a*, 1972*b*; Siegal 1971. These studies draw on the much older sociological tradition of social surveys of homeless men (see Bahr 1970).

Studies of drinking in private places are rare. The one substantial United States attempt reported substantial ethical and methodological difficulties with such a study (Riesman and Watson 1964).

There have been some observational studies of interactions in treatment and other social response agencies—e.g., Wiseman 1970;

Bittner 1967; Robinson 1973*a*, 1973*b*, 1976; Bigus 1973; Collier and Somfay 1974.

There have also been some observational studies of the functioning of Alcoholics Anonymous groups—e.g., Groves 1972; Rudy 1976; Taylor 1977; Thune 1977.

In terms of the two categories of observational studies contemplated for the World Health Organization community response studies, the literature is more developed and cumulative in regard to drinking in public places than in regard to processes in the institutions of community response to drinking.

A general drift can be seen in all these literatures toward greater self-consciousness about methods and more formalized and often quantitative approaches. This drift reflects trends in ethnographic and observational studies generally: The old style of the general description, laced with telling instances and organized into a coherent characterization, has fallen under suspicion. It is now well recognized in anthropology that a given culture may appear totally different as interpreted by two different observers using traditional judgmental and literary methods. In the alcohol literature, formalization has proceeded in three main directions:

- studies that use a formal structure of statement of norms (e.g., Rubington 1968). This strategy does not solve the problem of reproducibility of results since the methodology by which the structure is elicited is not formalized.

- an emphasis on "ethnosemantics," with a formalized statement of the "cognitive maps" with which the culture organizes language around drinking or associated categories (see Spradley 1970; Hage 1972; Topper 1976). This tradition has drawn on the strength of the methods of comparative linguistics and the relative determinability and fixity of language norms as a way of formalizing methods. The methodology of "ethno-semantic elicitation" is, however, often not spelled out.

- a new emphasis on counting of instances of behaviors, interactions, etc. In the alcohol literature, this is so far most notable for counts of drinks consumed in tavern studies, where earlier studies (Mass Observation 1943; Sommer 1965) have been joined by a spate of recent studies (Billings et al. 1976; Harford et al. 1976; Kessler and Gomberg 1974; Cutler and Storm 1975; Plant et al. 1977), all explicitly concerned with methodological issues and feasibility.

A few studies have counted other items: drunks walking past certain places (Mäkelä 1974); instances of referral for treatment (Rob-

inson 1973*a*); drinkers in the taverns on a given day (Lorenzo 1953).[1] There is plenty of room for innovation in this area. Only one observational study has yet used the interaction episode rather than the individual as a unit of analysis (Watson and Potter 1962), although Warren Breed (personal communication) is currently using such a unit in analyzing observations of the use of alcohol in television episodes. Bruun's pioneer use of sociometric data (1959*b*) has not been followed up in the observational alcohol literature, although Plant (1975) used a sociometric method in a drug study to determine membership in and boundaries of subcultures of users.

The new self-consciousness about methods has meant more sustained attempts to spell them out and formalize their operation. But these descriptions of method tend to be specific to the study and are often of doubtful relevance elsewhere. The following references contain substantial descriptions of methods—besides the methodological drinking-count studies cited above: Bigus 1973; Taylor 1977; Mass Observation 1943 (see preface of second edition); Topper 1976; Wiseman 1970; Wolcott 1974; Cavan 1966; Robinson 1973*a*; Plant 1975; Roebuck and Frese 1976; Sommer 1965; Bruun 1959*b*.

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[1] This interesting study combined survey data, an observational census of drinkers, and anecdotal observations. However, it should be treated with caution because there is clear plagiarism of the English Mass Observation study in the text of its anecdotal observations.

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